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SEPTEMBER 1970

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LEONARD E. READ *President*, Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

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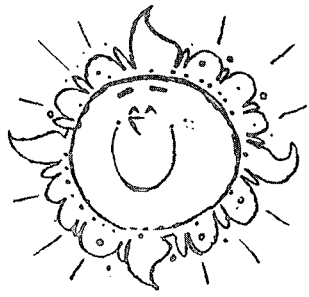
OUR IMPROVING ENVIRONMENT



ALEXIS T. MILLER

IN THE BEGINNING and for thousands of years, man's environment was extremely hostile, barely yielding enough sustenance for survival. Man, clearly, was at the mercy of his environment.

However, at scattered times and places throughout history, man has demonstrated an ability to adapt and to substantially control and improve his environment.

Environment is usually thought of in physical terms such as air, water, climate, food and shelter, other people, natural resources, and the like. But in considering total environment I would add those conditions that have affected the achievement of the historic goals of men which have been and still are: freedom and the opportunity to improve their well-being – as they see it – not as someone prescribes it for them.

I mentioned occasions in history where men and life flourished. These included Sumer, Athens, Carthage, Rome, Venice, Florence, Kiev, various Islamic centers of the Middle East, England, and America. The conditions that were present in each of the instances were freedom of action and commerce as well as security of the lives and property of the citizens.

Free men have always reacted creatively to a hostile situation.

Problem and Thesis

Today we seem to be in an age of crises: international, crime, youth, housing, population, food, and pollution.

A generation ago it was the school shortage, automation, why can't Johnny read, the sputnik gap, and others. Every generation has had its crises which is partly a result of the headline syndrome (every day there must be a headline).

A current crisis that is causing concern among many people is our alleged deteriorating environment.

I disagree with their concern

Mr. Miller is Executive Vice-President of the Badger Meter Manufacturing Company in Milwaukee. This article is from a talk presented on several occasions in recent months.

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and would like to present and support the following thesis:

> *Man's total environment has been improving from the time he developed the first tools and, during the past generation, the rate of improvement has increased.*

I mentioned some examples where mankind flourished and where there was, at least in those locations, a rapid improvement in the total environment. Obviously, the improvement in the environment worldwide has not been continuous as only two of those flourishing societies are left.

Nevertheless, the number of people sharing the improved environment is increasing. West Germany and Japan have certainly been a good example of this during the past 25 years. And more recently Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and others have achieved rapid rises in their standards of living.

Furthermore, we know what the preconditions are and can use this knowledge to evaluate instances of environmental deterioration to determine corrective action.

I would like to examine some specific examples of alleged environmental deterioration in the light of today's concern for the population explosion and the pollution of our ecological community.

Water Resources

First, let me say that there is no water shortage and very likely never will be except where distribution systems are inadequate. Water is used, not consumed. Therefore there is just as much water in the world today as there ever was. *The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1970* states that there are about 327 million cubic miles of water on the earth. 97 per cent of this total is salt water while 2 per cent is fresh water frozen in ice caps and glaciers. The remaining 1 per cent or 3.3 million cubic miles is fresh surface and ground water which amounts to about one billion gallons of fresh water per person in the world today. This is many million times more water than we are using each day. And yet there are people who insist that inevitably we will run out of water.

I will agree that in spite of all the water available, much of it is beginning to look used. It is obvious that there is a lot of polluted water. However, except for man-caused silting of the waterways of the world and for some recent isolated changes in the availability of aquatic food, water pollution constitutes only a minor economic and health problem. The Milwaukee River, for example, has been polluted for over 100 years but only recently has there been any

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significant expression of concern.

Secondly, let me dispel some pollution lore. It is quite evident that chemical and biological pollutants, in sufficient concentration, can cause destruction of at least a part of the natural state of a river or lake. Thermal pollution may cause a local change but is not likely to cause destruction. It is also evident that regardless of the concentration of pollutants, every moving body of water has the capability of eliminating the effect at some point downstream. Furthermore, there is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that any body of moving water, including Lake Erie, can be polluted to a point where it cannot eventually restore itself if the introduction of pollutants is sufficiently reduced. As with an area of polluted air, an area of polluted water becomes diluted as it moves on.

A pertinent question that might be asked: How did pollution get this bad? Since rivers and lakes have been considered public property, the concept of protecting private property from the actions of others (a precondition for a free society) has not been applicable. Therefore, the waterways simply have become unchallenged dumping grounds. For the same reason, litter has become commonplace on roadways, parks, and other public areas.

All that is needed is for all of the polluters – municipal, industrial, and agricultural – to reduce their polluting to a level where the waters can clean themselves to whatever level is desired.

The ultimate cost of pollution abatement must be borne by the polluters and passed on to their customers, whether industrial, municipal, or agricultural.

Although some new developments would be helpful in reducing costs, such as continuous flow sewage treatment, the technology exists today to abate nearly all of the water pollution. It is simply a matter of enforcement to achieve clean waters and this is what has been lacking. For example, the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899, which bans the dumping of refuse into navigable waters, is just now being effectively enforced in various parts of the country.

Pollution control is primarily a state and local problem. Where effective local enforcement has occurred, dramatic results have been achieved in many parts of the world. For example, fish that have not been seen for generations have returned to the Thames in the London area. Game fish are again being caught in San Francisco Bay. Furthermore, these improvements required no sacrifice in the standard of living.

Beyond the setting of standards

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for Federal, interstate, and other navigable waterways, with some personnel for monitoring, there seems to be no more justification for a Federal bureaucracy concerned with water pollution abatement than for a Federal bureaucracy concerned with garbage collection.

Unfortunately, the almost frantic effort to federalize a local matter has restrained the development of effective local pollution abatement programs.

However, it is obvious from steps already taken and others scheduled that our environment *is* improving. The next few years will witness a reversal of centuries of water pollution.

Air Resources

Air pollution is probably more serious than water pollution because we don't clean the air before we use it and the pollution is more difficult to evade. But the magnitude of the hazard is not known. That is, we really don't know very much about the long term effect of different combinations and concentrations of impurities in the air. However, since we can see it and smell it, air pollution has become a social problem and therefore a political matter.

One of the incongruities of our laws pertaining to property is that the air rights do not include the air itself. However, this inconsistency is beginning to change; as a result, as in the case of water, the environmental problem of air pollution is rapidly yielding to local corrective action. I again emphasize "local action."

The technology for air pollution abatement does exist and is being applied. Furthermore, the technology is improving rapidly as the innovators go to work. There was little incentive or opportunity for innovation in the past under conditions of limited enforcement.

As in the case of water pollution abatement, wherever effective local enforcement of air pollution laws has occurred, dramatic results have been achieved.

Pittsburgh, with a local program, experienced significant improvement years ago. London has had pollution control laws for 400 years but erratic enforcement until recently. The Clean Air Act of 1956 required the replacement of coal fires with gas, electricity, or oil, and established smokeless zones. Lord Kennet, Joint Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, speaking to the National Executive Conference on Water Pollution Abatement in Washington on October 24, 1969, stated that "there hasn't been a serious fog in London for seven years."

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Los Angeles Smog

The Associated Press reported on March 21 that the head of the Los Angeles County Air Pollution Control District is retiring because, he says, "there's nothing much left for me to do here." Air pollution in the Los Angeles basin is at its lowest point since 1954 and still declining without an erosion of the standard of living. Open air burning has been banned. Industry has complied with local air pollution abatement laws. The California Air Resources Board stated in its 1969 Annual Report issued in January of this year that because of California vehicle emission laws applicable to the 1970 model automobiles, hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emissions per car have been reduced over 70 per cent from the 1965 cars. Recently announced California emission standards, which are to be effective with the 1975 model cars, will result in a 95 per cent reduction in hydrocarbon emissions, 85 per cent in carbon monoxide emissions, and 83 per cent in oxides of nitrogen in contrast to earlier model cars. In spite of this improvement, some people continue to predict that Los Angeles smog will cause mass deaths by 1975.

With effective local enforcement of air pollution laws, our environment will continue to improve.

Population

The alleged population explosion, if true, would certainly be an important factor in our total environment. However, I think it is nonsense to project recent population growth rates without considering what caused the rise or what could change it.

The population problem is essentially a matter of people, space, and food. Shelter and clothing are also important but, while their availability may be marginal, they are not critical in the areas where the population pressures are the greatest. As for people, the world population has been rising rapidly during the past century primarily due to a rapid reduction in death rates, not to a rise in birth rates.

The Western world — with its series of economic, scientific, and technological advances — witnessed a slow, gradual transition over many generations, from high death rates and high birth rates to low death rates and low birth rates concurrent with an improvement in the standard of living. During this time, the rate of population growth did not change significantly.

But in parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, mortality rates have dropped substantially in the last few generations without a corresponding change in economic conditions or birth rates.

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This obviously led to a rapid rise in the rate of population growth. However we may view the means or the result, one of the key factors contributing to the sharp drop in death rates in tropical countries has been the effective and continuing use of DDT in controlling disease-carrying insects.

On the brighter side of the population problem, growth rates have been dropping in the technically and economically advanced nations of Europe and North America. In the United States, for example, the population growth rate is down to less than 1 per cent a year and still declining. The Census Bureau reported that the population increased 154,000 during March to an estimated 204,663,000. The population of the United States is stabilizing without government coercion.

Furthermore, birth rates and therefore population growth rates have been falling rapidly for several years in such developing nations as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Trinidad-Tobago, and Singapore. These are not isolated cases but rather dramatic examples of the effect of market economies, the infusion of capital, and a resulting rise in the standard of living. Also, birth rates are beginning to fall in Ceylon, Malaysia, Jamaica, and Costa Rica for the same reason.

Japan has halted its program to reduce birth rates as there is concern about the long run labor requirements for their expanding industries. West Germany, Australia, and others are promoting increases in population.

The environment in the free world *is* improving.

As to the availability of space for an expanding population, there is not much to say beyond the fact that there is plenty of it. However, in order to take advantage of the open land, we may have to break or at least bend the tradition of the central city. After all, the central city in this country was rendered obsolete over a generation ago by the automobile. All of its traditional functions have been diffused into outlying areas except the function of serving as a political base.

Food

More than seven thousand years of overgrazing and poor farming methods throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and parts of Asia have caused eroded slopes, silted rivers, and paralyzed food production. Changes in ancient civilizations and empires in this area paralleled disastrous grain farming methods.

There have been some interesting highlights during this time. The Sumerians, whom I mentioned

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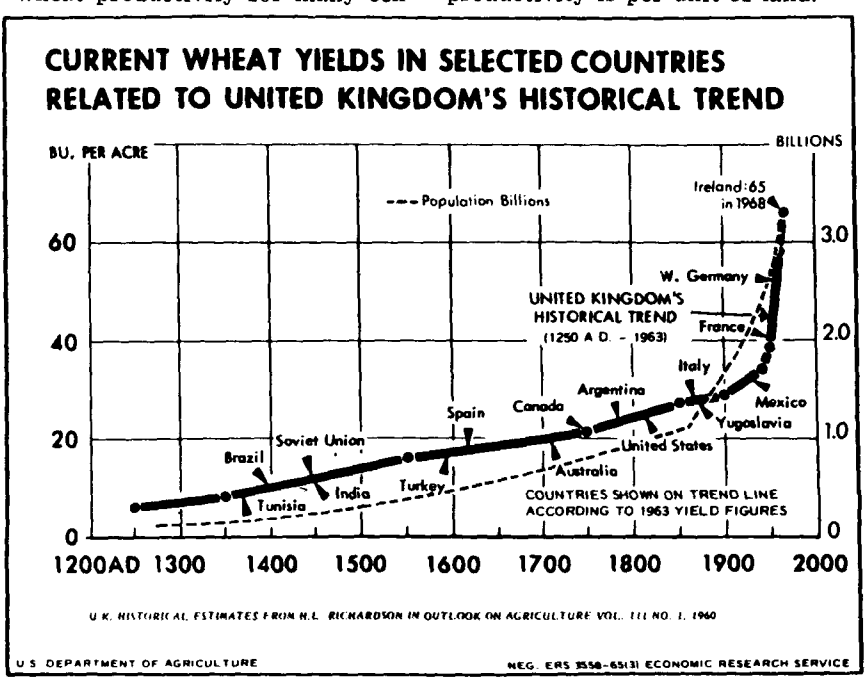
earlier, over 4,000 years ago developed irrigation technology within an environment of private property and a market economy. The early Egyptians harnessed the ox, thereby increasing productivity to a point where people were available for building programs. The Romans implemented and expanded the soil and water conservation technology of the Carthaginians. The Saracens improved it still further and developed what became known as scientific farming. In more recent times the English have been steadily increasing wheat productivity for many centuries. With a few other exceptions already mentioned, the rest of the world went hungry most of this time.

Even today, population growth threatens to exceed food production in some parts of the world where Malthus is again the vogue. In other parts, however, food production is increasing far more rapidly than population.

It is interesting to note the variations in food production and productivity in different parts of the world. Since land is a fixed resource, the only valid measure of productivity is per unit of land.



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Wheat

The previous chart shows the productivity in bushels per acre for the United Kingdom from the thirteenth century through 1968. Other nations are shown on the U.K. line with their yields as of 1963. In addition, the world population line is shown without the fourteenth century plague dip.

You will note that for the United Kingdom there was slow growth until the yield takeoff in the 1940's.

Also note the position of other countries on the U.K. line. The United States and Canada are relatively low because the averages include the nonirrigated lands in the plains area where yields are erratic. Actually, in many Midwestern areas, wheat yields exceed those of the U.K. Of interest is that Yugoslavia is one of the most market-oriented of the Eastern Bloc nations.

There have been a few changes in productivity since 1963. France moved up to 53 bushels in 1968. The United States with 13 bushels per acre in the 1930's and 20 bushels in the 1950's is now at about 30 bushels. Russia is still at about 17 bushels per acre.

Malthus wrote his first book in 1798 long before the takeoff.

Agricultural economists contend that certain conditions are necessary for a "yield takeoff" of a nation's primary food crop:

1. A high degree of market orientation in agriculture.
2. A relatively high level of literacy.
3. Per capita income far enough above subsistence levels to provide capital for investment in yield-raising capital inputs.
4. A high level of development of the nonagricultural sector.

While these four conditions have existed wherever a yield takeoff has occurred, I suspect that the last three items are not so important since yield takeoffs are beginning to occur in developing nations where only the first condition is dominant.

The reasons for the yield takeoff in any food crop are typically the effective use of mechanization, chemicals, and appropriate strains of the plant. The chemical revolution has produced new types of nutrients, herbicides, fungicides, insecticides, and bio-regulants. These are all part of the new technology of our improving environment, as are breakthroughs in the genetic design of new strains and varieties of crops.

New strains of wheat have yielded over 100 bushels per acre. Hybridization of wheat is just now getting started, nearly forty years after corn. A synthetic species called *triticales,* combining wheat and rye, outproduces both in yield

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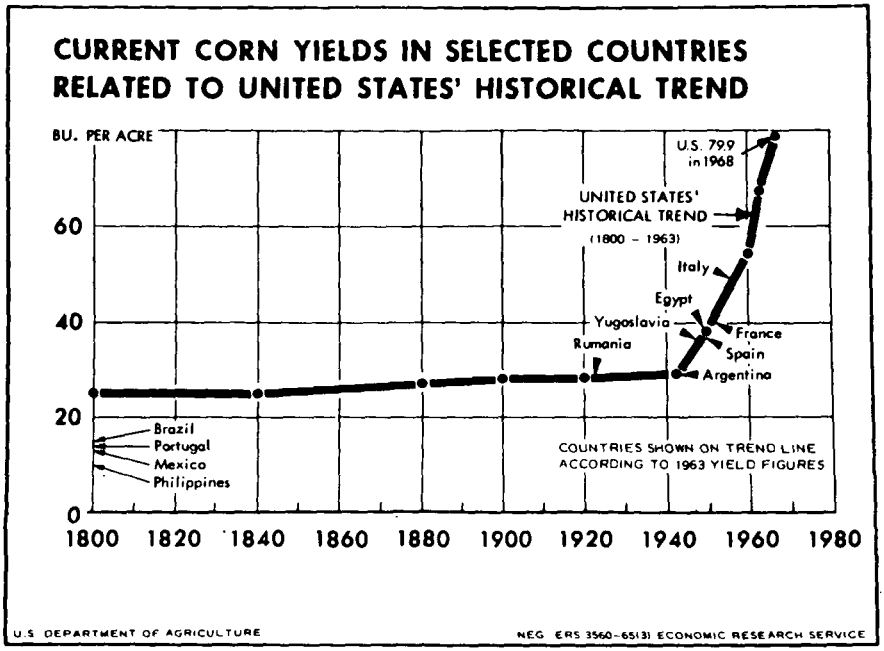
per acre and in protein content.

Wheat production in this country has been rising faster than consumption for many years. As a result of persistent wheat surpluses, the national wheat acreage allotment has been significantly reduced in recent years. As reported in *The Wall Street Journal* on December 22, 1969, the government's 1970 wheat program calls for a 12 per cent cut in acreage from the 1969 level. It is expected that in 1970 approximately 44 million acres will produce 1.3 billion bushels of wheat. This compares with 74 million acres producing less than 1 billion bushels fifty years ago.

While we are cutting acreage, Russia is still increasing acreage; although Russia's total output in 1969 dropped 5 per cent from the 1968 level as reported in the January 12, 1970 issue of *Foreign Agriculture.*

Corn

The chart below shows the productivity line for corn in the United States, where about half of the world's supply is produced. The yield takeoff started in the late 1930's and became fully effective



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in the early 1940's. It was primarily due to hybridization, fertilizers, weed control, and higher plant densities.

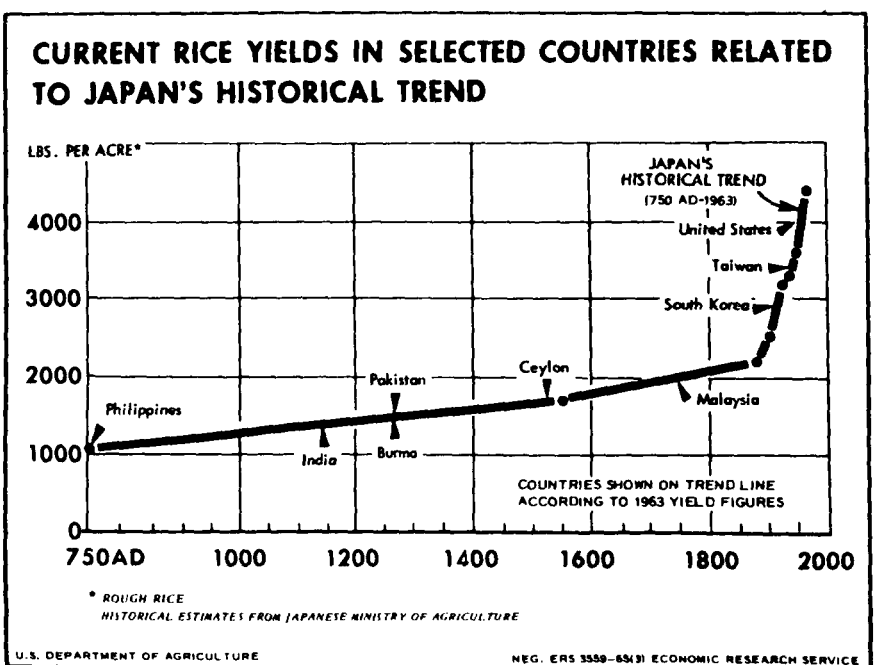
Although the average yield has reached nearly 80 bushels per acre, many farms have exceeded 100 bushels. Over 300 bushels have been achieved experimentally, with some new technologies yet to be tried.

In 1880, it took an average of 48 hours of work to produce one acre of corn. Today, with modern equipment, it takes only two hours. In that same period the yields per acre increased from 25 bushels to 80. The productivity of the farmer increased 24 times but the productivity of the land increased only 3 times. It is the land that is now becoming more productive.

As a matter of interest, it has been estimated from contemporary records that the American Indians were achieving corn yields of between 15 and 20 bushels per acre when the white men arrived.

Rice

Rice is the chief food for half the world's population. This chart shows the productivity line for Japan where the yield takeoff oc-



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curred considerably earlier than in other rice producing countries. Note the position of the other nations with market economies that are not too far behind.

With a limitation on available land, the Japanese, following the formation of their first national government a century ago, promoted an early takeoff after a thousand years of slow growth in productivity. The yield per acre increased from about 2,200 pounds per acre to more than double that level today. As a result, Japan is now exporting rice and has embarked on a program of reducing rice acreage 10 per cent per year for three years.

The International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, sponsored by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, has developed some exciting new strains of rice. With *IR-8*, one of the new strains, the Philippines in 1969 not only became self-sufficient but achieved a surplus. Unfortunately, they could not sell all of the surplus because of the glut in the world rice markets. Note on the chart where the Philippines were in 1963. The individual Philippine farmers, who are using *IR-8* and appropriate chemicals, have achieved in just a few years a yield increase that required over 1,000 years to accomplish in Japan.

Rapid conversion to the new strains is taking place throughout Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific. The new strains of rice permit heavier fertilizing, and not only have higher yields but at least one and possibly two extra crops each year. They take four months or less to mature as against up to seven months for the old strains. Where weather conditions permit multiple cropping, the increase in production per year can be several times that of old types.

A yield takeoff now requires less time to implement where takeoff conditions are met. This is largely due to better communications, which is another part of our improving environment.

While mechanization has helped increase wheat and corn yields, it is not that important to increasing rice yields in Asia.

As with wheat and corn, the production of rice in the free world is increasing much faster than population is. The environment in the free world *is* improving.

India has high hopes, but also has rigid price controls on rice at levels below the free market price. This, of course, has discouraged the production of rice. Although experimental farms are becoming more productive, average yields per acre are still at the levels of 1900 with no indication of a national yield takeoff.

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Other Food Crops

Recent yield takeoffs in the free world are not confined to the primary grain crops. For example, in the United States the yield per acre of grain sorghum, as well as the yield of soybeans, has more than doubled since the 1930's, while the yield of potatoes has more than tripled in many areas.

In summarizing the food situation, the unmistakable facts are these:

In the nations with market-oriented agriculture, food production is increasing more rapidly than population is, while in the nations with socialized agriculture the opposite is true.

The capitalist nations are experiencing "problems" of increasing food surpluses. The developing nations with market economies that are effectively applying new technologies are rapidly achieving self-sufficiency. On the other hand, the developing nations with planned economies and limited effectiveness of new technology are facing serious food shortages as are the major socialist nations: Russia, China, and India.

The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) stated in its annual report released in January, "The food problem facing the world in the near future is more likely to be surpluses rather than starvation."

As a word of caution, not all developing agricultural nations are ready for a yield takeoff of their primary food crop. However, it will occur sooner if the preconditions are met.

Nevertheless, a higher per cent of the free world's population is living above the subsistence level than ever before in history.

Another point, the world's total potentially arable land, using today's technology, is over three times the area actually harvested. Furthermore, throughout the world, land is being reforested faster than timber is being cut; strip-mined land is being reclaimed faster than it is being mined; and many areas of land ruined centuries ago are once again blooming.

Our environment *is* improving.

In looking ahead, there are many exciting things being developed for the next wave of the agricultural revolution. The following are just a few:

1. Lower costs for desalting sea water as well as surface and subsurface brackish water.
2. Implementation of subirrigation techniques in which all nutrients and other chemicals are applied at the root level using only one-third as much water as with surface irrigation. This will eliminate chemical runoff and reduce soil

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runoff. This technique, together with desalinization procedures, may very well be the answer to the salt buildup in the Imperial Valley of California.

3. Increased use of plastic shelters for cold-weather farming. Many garden crops such as tomatoes are now grown in this manner.
4. Growing acceptance of the elimination of plowing to maximize yields and minimize topsoil runoff.
5. Lower unit costs and prices following the inevitable shift to corporate farming. The elimination of price supports and acreage restrictions will accelerate this shift.
6. I should also acknowledge and allow for the countless innovations, large and small, that have not yet emerged.

The Total Environment Is Improving in the Free World

I mentioned in the beginning that the goal of men throughout history, as clearly indicated by many voluntary emigrations and migrations, has been freedom and the opportunity to improve their well-being as they see it. Freedom for one implies freedom for all — which means security of life and property. These conditions, which promote the most effective utilization of human energy, represent a favorable total environment.

The evidence is overwhelming that the environment is improving. The free nations of the world, with rising standards of living for an increasing number of their citizens, illustrate the most favorable total environment the world has ever known.

Malthus, who was more of a reporter than a prophet, could no more visualize the real effect of new technology developed and creatively applied by free people than Karl Marx could. Both have been proved wrong.

Some people will say about food that "the problem is not a shortage but a matter of distribution." If they would only inquire into the matter, they will find that there really are shortages. They will find free nations in all stages of development that have food surpluses, stabilizing populations, rising standards of living, and the will to achieve control over their physical environment. They will also find nations with planned economies facing critical food shortages and a wide range of population growth rates, level or declining standards of living, and little concern for their physical environment. Those who inquire will become aware of the universal failure of planned agriculture.

Others say that the gap between

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the haves and have nots is increasing and that somehow the capitalist nations are responsible and should feel guilty. This is really the wrong comparison. It is not a question of have or have not but rather how well they are using what they have. Without question, there is a gap that is widening. But it is between nations that have conditions conducive to rising standards of living and nations that have conditions limiting the rise in the standards of living. For example, compare the widening gap between East and West Germany, remembering that both started from the same pile of rubble 25 years ago. Compare the widening gap between Japan and India. Compare the fortunes of Cuba and Mexico over the past generation, with the gap now widening in favor of Mexico. These widening gaps are to the credit, not the blame, of the free nations.

If I were to consider an appropriate objective for this age of increasing awareness of our environment, I would say let us first identify and understand those conditions which will provide the best total environment for the greatest number.

For the nations with free societies, the total environment is better and is continually improving. Individual economic freedom seems to be the key. Never before in history has there been such a great opportunity to extend these free world concepts to all the people of the world. Never before have the comparisons between the free and controlled societies been so obvious or the communications to make them known so effective.

For those who want to take a personal part in environmental improvement, I would suggest that after they acquire an understanding of the preconditions of an improving environment they actively promote the implementation of these conditions wherever they are lacking. On a local basis, they should seek enactment and effective enforcement of appropriate environmental improvement laws based on the concepts covered earlier under water and air resources.

For purposes of pollution abatement, food production, and an improvement in other environmental factors, let us use the new technologies effectively – not abandon them. There is much to be done.

Personally, I am very confident that by the year 2000, for the free world, there will be clearer thinking on the matter of improving the total environment. There will be a realization that effective control and improvement in our environment requires no decline in our standard of living. On the contrary, it should continue to improve if all conditions are met. As

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a result of effective local programs, there will be cleaner air and water. Food production capability will continue to exceed population growth. The trend that has already started toward a stabilization of the world population will be continuing – voluntarily.

Obviously, I cannot foresee future events; but I am certain that, given the condition of freedom, many more contributions to an improving total environment will be made by creative and productive individuals of this and future generations.

Reprints of this article available, 10¢ each.

FOR ADDITIONAL READING OR REFERENCE:

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RESIST NOT EVIL

LEONARD E. READ

SOME TWENTY years ago FEE published a small book by Henry Hazlitt, *Will Dollars Save the World?*, a critique of the Marshall Plan. Over 90,000 volumes were sold and the response was overwhelmingly favorable. Later, a national magazine of enormous circulation condensed the book. The reaction from their readers was generally unfavorable. Why?

Condensation is the art of skeletonizing, leaving the subject bare of explanation, that is, with categorical statements standing alone. Ideas are communicated simply and understandably by explanation, not by abbreviation. Brevity may be the soul of wit, but only for those who already apprehend the idea; others miss the meaning.

Consider the Decalogue. Here we have Ten Commandments rather than ten explanations. These Commandments suffice for those who believe them to be the revealed Word of God, but these wonderful and righteous thou-shalts and thou-shalt-nots have little if any enlightenment for non-believers; in their case, comprehension requires further explanation.

The above is but background for another Biblical injunction (Matthew 5: 38-39):

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."

These words, I believe, contain a remarkable truth, but in the form of a mere admonishment. Unless one explores the reasoning and insight behind it, this truth lives in darkness. Let's see if it can be brought out into the light.

I confess at the outset that my interpretation is possibly at variance with numerous other interpretations. Variation here is to be

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expected, for who can say for certain what was *really* meant?[1] Perfect communication presupposes the perfect sayer and the perfect hearer. Conceding Jesus to be the Perfect Sayer, who among us can claim to be the perfect hearer? No one! Not only are all of us imperfect hearers but also we are up against the inaccuracies words have suffered by translation: Aramaic to Greek to Latin to English and so on. Absolute accuracy is out of the question as any competent linguist will attest.

To illustrate: What is meant by "The meek shall inherit the earth"? Assuredly, not the Mr. Milquetoasts which the present usage of "meek" suggests. That doesn't make sense to me. What does seem sensible is the Old English usage of "meek," meaning the teachable, the humble in spirit, the learners as distinguished from those afflicted with the little god syndrome, the know-it-alls.

Thus, any person's interpretation of "Resist not evil" logically rests on what makes sense to him, which is to say, on his idea of the ideal, on what his highest conscience dictates as right. This may not in fact be right but is as near to right as he can get. The original context, "Resist not evil," may simply counsel nonviolence, but I am sure that the saying has wider overtones of meaning. It suggests that we do not try to construct our lives around a negation.

[1] See *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, Vol. VII, p. 301).

Some Signs of Enlightenment

To assess the relevance of "Resist not evil" in today's world, it is necessary to recognize several civilizing ideas that have come to light – though never wholly understood and practiced – since its pronouncement. Slavery then was morally acceptable, but today it is regarded in the West as an evil institution. The closed society is at least intellectually demolished and the tenets of the open society are no longer esoteric. During the last seven generations the principles of limited government and the rule of law have gained some recognition. Equality of opportunity for each individual, regardless of creed, color, race, or station, is not in question among enlightened people; the dignity of each human being is accepted, indeed, insisted on by many people! In numerous respects there has been some change for the better during the past nineteen centuries.

In the light of this moderate enlightenment, the admonition, "Resist not evil," relates to a different form of retribution than in New Testament days. It advised then against the practice of forci-

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bly inhibiting evil; now it may be interpreted otherwise, for in an enlightened society it is the malefactor himself who invites being brought to justice. Ideally, at least, the taboos are codified, posted, and the penalties made known: "Do not jump off this cliff except at your own risk!" In the essentially free society the penalty for evil is not "an eye for an eye" as in Hammurabi's time or Matthew's time. The retribution is self-inflicted; the one who performs an evil deed initiates the penalty meted out to him. He asked for it!

Assuming mankind to have advanced in moral insight does not mean that good and evil have vanished from the human scene; they contest on higher levels. An act that wasn't thought of as an evil centuries ago – enslaving a person, for instance – may later be regarded as evil. With this recognition, freeing a slave is for the first time regarded as good. Or, to use another example: in the absence of moral sensitivity, certain overt acts may be evil, but there is nothing evil in only thinking about the acts. As the moral nature of an individual advances, the thought becomes as evil as the deed, and freeing self from such thoughts becomes good. In brief, as the moral nature ascends, man becomes conscious of evils never previously thought of as such. The opposites are forever at work, once at a brutish level and later, perhaps, at a saintly level.

I infer from this line of thought that "Resist not evil" – assuming an enlightened society – moves to a new and higher plane. The confrontation not to be resisted is no longer at the eye-for-an-eye level of physical vengeance but at the thought level. Let me quote Aldous Huxley on witchcraft to make my point:

> By paying so much attention to the devil and by treating witchcraft as the most heinous of crimes, the theologians and the inquisitors actually spread the beliefs and fostered the practices which they were trying so hard to repress. By the beginning of the eighteenth century witchcraft had ceased to be a serious social problem. It died out, among other reasons, because *almost nobody now bothered to repress it.* For the less it was persecuted, the less it was propagandized.[2]

During the first two years of FEE, a celebrated columnist of a persuasion quite the opposite of ours, devoted five of his columns to FEE, each a tirade loaded with gross misrepresentations. To us, at least, this was evil. But we turned away from this "evil," that is, we in no way resisted it – nary

[2] See *The Devils of Loudon* by Aldous Huxley (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., p. 128), 1952.

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a rebuttal or acknowledgement! We provided this scribbler nothing whatsoever to scratch against, without which he could not continue. He gave up, never again mentioning FEE as long as he lived.

As in the case of witchcraft, I am convinced that much of the rioting and anarchy presently in vogue is stimulated and worsened by all of the attention paid to the malefactors, that is, by the resistance to these evils. What unenlightened people won't do to get themselves on TV or otherwise in the public eye! Publicity and notoriety hold more charm and inducement for such people than does greatness and fortune for others. "Resist not evil" counsels that they as persons be ignored, in the sense of not berating them.

And observe how attention to this axiom works its wonders in daily transactions. While most of our dealings with others are honorable and above board, now and then we experience shysterism: a broken promise, overcharge, underquality, an attempt to "get the best" of one. Resist not this evil; that is, pay no heed; not a scolding word; simply walk away and fail to return. While resistance will harden the malefactor in his sins as he rises to his own defense, nonresistance leaves him alone with his soul, his shop, and his jobbery, a plight that even a malefactor will ponder and understand.

Second Blow Starts Fight

Confrontation is always of two parts: the confrontee and the confrontor. Neither one can exist without the other. This brings to mind the old Arab proverb, "He who strikes the second blow starts the fight." There can be no fight without a retaliation.

But is one to "turn the other cheek"? That seems to be what "Resist not evil" commends! Only to get socked again? Wrote Konrad Lorenz, the noted animal psychologist:

> A wolf has enlightened me: not so that your enemy may strike you again do you turn the other cheek toward him, *but to make him unable to do it.*[3]

Consider what happens if one does strike the second blow. There follows a fusillade of blows until one or the other is done in, the victor no less a model of rectitude than the vanquished. All loss and no gain! Witness wars!

This analysis, however, is meant to engage our Biblical axiom at the ideological level. As previously suggested, this presupposes a civ-

[3] See "Morals and Weapons," the final chapter in a fascinating book, *King Solomon's Ring*, by Konrad Z. Lorenz (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.), 1961, a paperback.

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ilization less brutish and more moral than marked earlier times. That the presupposition may be somewhat extravagant is attested to by the difficulty all of us encounter when trying to apprehend, let alone practice, "Resist not evil." Should this run counter to your instincts, you're not alone; it does to mine. And only by a resort to reasoning at an untrod level are my combative instincts revealed to be faulty. I have arrived at the point of not overtly "telling 'em off," but what I still think to myself isn't under control! Covertly, I still resist, and if that isn't all bad it is at least half bad.

Rationally judged, "Resist not evil" is counsel of the highest order. It cautions me not to argue with anyone. And let my case go by default? To the contrary, as the best way to win my case!

> . . . assume to dictate to his judgment, or to command his action . . . and he will retreat within himself, close all avenues to his head and his heart. . . .[4]

In a word, away with confrontation!

[4] Abraham Lincoln.

Strict attention to this axiom has yet a further refinement. It is to refrain from ideological or philosophical discussion with any person unless I be seeking light from him or he from me. And what a waste of words and time this eliminates! Is this to hide our lights under a bushel? To retire to a do-nothing status? Again, to the contrary.

To waste neither words nor time is to make way for productive and constructive effort: learning the principles of freedom and the fallacies of its opposite, and how to explain them. If we learn these things – which presupposes your and my seeking – then others will seek from us. When confrontations are abandoned, the way to enlightenment is open. Instead of two squared off against each other, there stand two peacefully gaining from each other or, at least, one from the other.

To resist evil is to sustain, encourage, and prolong it; to resist it not is to substitute questions and answers for blows and counterblows; it permits the practice and the sharing of such truths as any of us may come upon. And is this not the proper path for human progress?

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THE ROLE OF A CONSERVATIVE

BERTEL M. SPARKS

Concerning the peculiar switch of the "liberal" and "conservative" positions on business matters in contrast to social and political issues.

IT MIGHT appear unnecessary or even redundant to inquire, "What is the role of a conservative?" The obvious answer would seem to be that the role of a conservative is to conserve. But if any serious effort is made to apply that definition to popular usage in present-day society, a number of perplexing problems are raised. The perplexity becomes most apparent in the industrial world where the material goods human beings need or desire are being produced. Those who want to preserve existing ways of doing things and prohibit the introduction of any labor-saving devices or any newer products that might be better and therefore might replace the less attractive ones now in use are called liberals. Those who are eager to accept any new technological development that might enhance the material well-being of mankind or reduce the amount of human drudgery necessary to survival are referred to as conservatives. The very people who want to preserve the old ways stubbornly insist upon identifying themselves as liberals while those who are always ready to discard the old and accept every new development that promises to produce more goods with less effort are dismissed as conservatives. It is a strange world.

A liberal who is confronted with the propositions made in the preceding paragraph is likely to deny them. At least he is likely to deny them so long as they are presented to him in the abstract form indicated above. But when the same statements are reduced to concrete terms, most liberals will embrace them without hesitation. The reason for this para-

Bertel M. Sparks is Professor of Law at Duke University School of Law, Durham, North Carolina.

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dox is that the typical liberal has already taken flight from reality and has found refuge in his embryonic cocoon where he enjoys spinning his theories without being disturbed by any encounter with the concrete facts of life. A few simple examples, taken from among many that might have been used, will serve to illustrate the point.

Featherbedding Policies

If the railroad industry develops a locomotive that is more efficient than the coal burning variety, can haul heavier loads at less expense, will reduce the air pollution problem, and promises to lower the danger of fires caused by flying sparks along the tracks, the liberal objects to having the new machine put into operation. He says it might frustrate some of the employees already accustomed to the old coal burner. The railroad company gets to use its new invention only after agreeing to maintain a seat for the coal shoveler in the cab of the locomotive and pay the shoveler to sit there even though there is no coal to shovel. The one who says that the new device should be put into operation as soon as its effectiveness is demonstrated is called a conservative. The conservative might even point out that the newer and better machine will lower transportation costs and that this in turn will leave more money in the pockets of travelers and shippers and tend to lower the prices of the commodities being shipped. He might also suggest that the money saved would be spent on other products which the travelers, shippers, and consumers were previously unable to afford. If this natural chain of events should be permitted to take place, the obsolete coal shoveler would be needed in the production of the new products. But the liberal will label any such willingness to elevate the material well-being of the entire society to a higher plane as not only conservative but extremely reactionary. And after once being told that it is antisocial to give better services at lower costs, the railroad company will be discouraged from any new undertaking and the community will never know what other improvements it might have forfeited by its adherence to the liberal's definition of "social justice."

For the one constant in the liberal's definition of "social justice" is an absolute refusal to make any allowance for possible improvement in the state of the arts. Everything must remain as it now is. If advancing technology reduces the need for coal or introduces the possibility of mining more coal with fewer miners, the liberal sees this as necessitating a compulsory

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levy in the form of taxes upon the producers – and ultimately the consumers – of other goods to pay the miner to sit near the mine whether he does any mining or not. Any suggestion that the miner should be permitted to engage in the more rewarding task of producing newer products that would be bought by the taxpaying consumers if their incomes had not been expropriated to pay the miner to sit by his unwanted mine is viewed as too conservative to be respectable.

On the other hand, if better ways can be found for heating homes and operating factories or if coal that is needed for these purposes can be obtained at less expense and without the necessity of sending a human body into the ground, the conservative is likely to be in a mood for rejoicing. He will be grateful that the miner can be released to produce something else in order that the material well-being of all, including the miner, can be elevated.

The same result prevails on the farm. If the farmer learns how to produce more food with less work, the liberal insists that all the farmers and farm workers now on the farm must remain there anyway. They must all stay there and the productive capacity of other members of society must be expropriated to pay the ones that are no longer needed. The surplus farmers will be paid to stay on the farm but refrain from producing as much as they could. But the conservative welcomes the improved productive capacity. He will encourage farmers to use the very best techniques of which they are capable. He will be glad as the excess workers leave the farm to enter the production of other commodities which heretofore have been viewed as luxuries by all except the wealthy few but which can now be made available to everyone at modest cost.

One of the best illustrations of the liberal's passion for maintaining the status quo is his attitude toward growth in population. Periodically throughout history he rediscovers a simple principle the conservative has known all along. That principle is that if the state of the arts, that is to say, the quality or condition of the tools of production, remains constant and the people continue to reproduce at an expanding rate, the quantity of goods per person will decline. The writings of present-day sociologists on this subject tend to indicate that the principle itself has just been discovered. The truth is that it has been known for ages, having had as its most famous exponent a man named Thomas Malthus who was writing his pessimistic pronouncements more than

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a hundred years ago. The liberal's remedy for this malady is to search for some way to limit human reproduction. The conservative is more likely to look upon it as a challenge to invent new machines, make new discoveries, and learn ways of producing more goods with less labor.

Thus it can be seen that there is no end to the number of illustrations that can be piled up in the industrial realm, all illustrating the same attitude toward material well being. Liberals always fear that the balance will somehow be upset if any improvements are made. In the 1930's they conceived the notion that the ideal level of comforts and conveniences had already been passed and that the nation was suffering from having too much. The solution offered was that of plowing under every third row of corn, killing every third pig, and performing numerous similar acts, most of which were viewed by the conservatives as sheer foolishness. The conservative prefers to leave the producer free to produce whatever he wishes in whatever quantities he can.

The Conserving of Freedom

In view of the conservative's eagerness to accept every new technological development designed to improve man's lot on earth and in view of the fact that he is always found in opposition to those who want to conserve the existing state of the arts, one wonders what claim he has to being identified as a conservative. A possible explanation is that he did not chose the name in the first place. It was thrust upon him by his enemies as a term of derision. But the conservative has accepted his unsolicited title and in doing so has discovered that he really does have something worth-while to conserve. And that which he has to conserve is of far greater importance than anything he is prepared to discard.

The primary goal of a conservative, as revealed by the writings of persons identified by that name, is to conserve freedom. And by freedom he means personal, individual freedom. It is a freedom of choice, a freedom to work or not work, a freedom to live in the country or move to the city, a freedom to choose his own occupation and to live by the fruits of that occupation. The conservative looks upon this freedom to choose as the thing that separates human beings from the lower animals. It is a part of man's nature. Thomas Jefferson said it was given to man by his Creator. In any event it is natural and original. It is not the gift of any state or social organization of any kind.

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Although the conservative never views the state as the source of freedom, he does view it as the agency whose duty it is to maintain a condition compatible with the exercise of freedom. And as he sees it, that condition of compatibility is a condition of order. Since he realizes that freedom cannot exist without order, he concludes that the greatest problem of government is the problem of reconciling the freedom of choice with which man is born with the exercise of an authority necessary to preserve order. All his views on government are built around that basic core. And if he sometimes appears overzealous in his concern for the preservation of freedom, it is because he realizes that there is always a danger that any authority that is adequate to maintain the order necessary to the existence of freedom might exceed its proper function and encroach upon freedom itself.

As a student of history, the conservative has seen that encroachment take place on too many occasions to be treated lightly. He realizes that although perfect freedom has never prevailed anywhere in the world, economic progress has always been directly related to the extent to which simple freedom of choice has been permitted to exist. Thus he sees a twofold good in the maintenance of freedom. It is an essential aspect of man's dignity as a man and it is also the quality or condition of life that is essential to economic growth and the improvement of material well-being. Newer and better products are produced and more efficient processes for manufacturing the things human beings need or desire are developed when men are free to develop and produce whatever they desire in the most efficient manner of which they are capable.

The True Apostle of Change

In this light the conservative emerges as the true apostle of change. He is so thoroughly convinced that human wants are insatiable that he never has any fear of having too much. He knows that in a free society all men are both producers and consumers and the only way any member of society can improve his own lot is by producing more of the things other people want and for which they are willing and able to pay. Freedom then becomes the natural stimulant for the development of newer and better ways of relieving human drudgery and providing more comforts and conveniences for all. So convinced are conservatives that an improvement in economic well-being is a desirable goal that they find it difficult to understand the reasoning of

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modern academicians whose chief worry seems to be that in the "affluent society" which freedom has made possible too many manufacturers are devoting their efforts toward producing the things people want! The professed worry is that in a free market human wants are not properly educated. They are too much influenced by the manufacturers' competitive advertising of their products. It seems that the liberal academician would prefer to have a government agency tell the people what would be best for them and introduce new products only when the agency was satisfied with their merits. Under this arrangement, if the appropriate agency was unable to find any value in decorative fins on automobiles, individual consumers would be deprived of their use regardless of how much pleasure such consumers might derive from indulging their "uneducated wants." The result could be a rather dull, drab, and standardized world. The conservative accepts Jeremy Bentham's dictum that "no man can be so good a judge as the man himself, what it is that gives him pleasure or displeasure,"[1] and he would allow every man to select for himself without any official inquiry into whether the selection was wise or foolish.

The true role of a conservative, then, is to conserve freedom. Too often he has failed to make that role clear. He has unwittingly allowed the enemies of freedom to misrepresent their own position and his as well. When accused of being enemies of change, conservatives have often defended themselves by saying, "We are not opposed to change but we do object to this particular change," or "We object to such a rapid rate of change." These defenses are false. The truth is that a conservative never objects to any change, regardless of the speed at which it is accomplished, so long as it is a change made by free human beings acting on their own volition without being coerced by any outside force. On the other hand, he is opposed to any change that encroaches upon the individual's freedom of choice in matters concerning his own affairs. His one political principle is the preservation of the conditions that make freedom to change – and therein change itself – possible. This is the foundation upon which his entire philosophy rests and it is the foundation that must be made known in the political market place if either the conservative or the society in which he lives is to survive.

[1] Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation* 172 (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1907).

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To a Friend

ROBERT W. DEMERS

TODAY I was running through the names of people I know – and knew – and was unhappy to find that I no longer have anyone with whom I can converse, except you. Actually, I never could talk with anyone the way I've talked with you, so I guess I haven't the grounds for unhappiness that I thought I had.

This is not an attempt to flatter, praise, or what-have-you, merely stating things as they *are*. In so doing, I reinforce in my thoughts and considerations the truly lamentable fact that, by and large, we are so obsessed with speed that we are by-passing the only true, productive aspects of living on this earth.

In the era before we were consumed with the glitter and tinsel of technology, we had time to place greater and truer emphasis upon the fruits to be harvested from quiet thought, meditation, and contemplation. The prologue for these exercises was always conversation, discussion, and just plain talkin'. Nowadays, if it's done at all, it's "dialogue," which is so much more appropriate to play-acting, make-believe, pretense, and sham.

Of course, we must observe that this word *dialogue* has been perverted and prostituted like all else, for it was originally associated with writing: "Written composition involving reasoning between two or more persons. . . ." (*Webster's*) One could anticipate more genuine and serious thought to be invested – or manifest – if what was to be presented had first to be written. And what does "to be written" imply? The investment of *time*, that precious element

Mr. Demers is a vocational counselor in Veneta, Oregon.

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through which we pass one time only, and which we squander with such reckless abandon. Because we hurry, we trick ourselves into falsely believing that we've done more with time; but as my Grandmother used to say: "You cannot spend tomorrow's hours today, without someday having to catch up, and at that moment you find these hours have been lost to you forever."

Once upon a time we realized that the only time we truly have is the here and the now, so we planned for tomorrow, realizing full well that it might never come. Now, one thing only is acceptable – to look forward to tomorrow, to the exclusion of the here-and-now and to the exclusion of all thought or consideration of one's end, in toto, in time. We erroneously think we're planning for tomorrow; but it is far from planning, it is rather anticipation and expectation, purely presumptive reactions, devoid of consideration and realistic preparation based upon genuine entitlement.

Our demands, our expectations, our "rights" have superseded our duties and responsibilities. Instead of taking and accepting graciously and appreciatively, we grasp and snatch greedily. Instead of diligently seeking with humility, we crow and blow with such a know-it-all attitude. Instead of reaching out and exercising that great, untouched intellectual potential which is our blessed gift, we prefer rather to sit back and indulge and overindulge our extremely limited and restricted passions and bodily comforts in a repetitive, animalistic way. Small wonder, then, that already we treat one another like beasts!

Can we honestly say, as a small minority lawlessly tears up communities physically and psychologically, with the majority refusing to do anything, that we are behaving much above a primitive animal level and are deserving of any other treatment than that accorded untamed beasts?

The animals of the pasture make an orderly contribution to our society, but they have no choice. We, people, you and I, we have a choice, though the choice is contingent upon our fulfilling a duty and a responsibility. What high and mighty *Man* forgets with amazing ease is that if the privilege and prerogative is not exercised, then man reverts to an even lower and more base form of behavior than the animals of the field. There is an abundance of historical, concrete evidence to support this observation. Denial only emphasizes our own potential self-destruction.

You've been a perfect "listener." Not one interruption!

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HENRY ANDERSON

The denaturization of human nature

THE 1960's were distinguished, among other respects, by a series of best-selling books which began with *African Genesis,* by Robert Ardrey, published in 1961. Something in this work caught the popular fancy, and it rocketed through seventeen printings. Publishing houses are not oblivious to intellectual fashions. In the years since, we have had six printings of *The Naked Ape,* by Desmond Morris; eight printings of *On Aggression,* by Konrad Lorenz; Ardrey has succeeded himself with *The Territorial Imperative;* Morris has succeeded himself with *The Human Zoo;* there have been dozens of other workings of the same lodes.

This article is reprinted by permission from the May 6, 1970, issue of *Manas.* Mr. Anderson, a Research Specialist with the California State Department of Public Health, is author of a book to be published this fall by Crowell, *So Shall Ye Reap.*

Despite considerable differences in the backgrounds of the authors, and disparities in emphasis and tone, this cycle of books has in common certain basic assumptions which, it would seem, may fairly be summarized as follows:

First: All posit that man is limited, "programmed," imprisoned by his animal heritage. The sometime British gerontologist, novelist, and lyricist, Sir Alex Comfort, in a book entitled *Nature and Human Nature,* pursues this doctrine further than most, to assert that man "carries with him . . . heirlooms" not only from butterflies, boring beetles, and baboons, but also "from his inorganic . . . past."

Second: All these works assume that the doctrine of instincts applies equally well to man, apes, reptiles, birds, fish, and insects,

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although some hedge with the term "drives," and Ardrey employs the contradiction-in-terms "open-ended instincts."

Third: All imply, and some state flatly, that not only is man *not* superior to other animals as he frequently flatters himself: he is lower than they – he is more bestial than any beast – in his sexual promiscuity, and even more particularly in his predatoriness and pugnacity. As Ardrey has it, he is a killer ape.

Fourth: "Liberal optimism" and "romantic fallacies"– which is to say, any viewpoints to the contrary – are bootless or worse than bootless. The only hope for man lies in abandoning his deluded efforts to be decent, rational, just, and merciful, and embracing the fact he is inherently irrational and murderous. The details of how this might work in practice are understandably vague, but apparently wars and race hatreds would end if men were no longer repressed in their instinctual desires to vent their bloodlust on objects closer to hand: parents, perhaps; or wives.

Fifth: These books, however, do not strip man of quite all his human qualities. He is left with a few darker, neurotic characteristics. And then, in a grand, final paradox, the bolder of the New Biologists impute these "human" attributes to other animals, just as they have already assigned "animal" attributes to man. This doctrine is articulated, for example, in *The Soul of the Ape,* by Eugene Marais, published posthumously with a "glowing introduction" by Ardrey. Marais argued that chacma baboons suffer from "hesperian depression" and use intoxicants to escape from "the pain of consciousness." Thus, in the end, man is denied even his neuroses as distinguishing qualities, and left with no peculiarly human nature at all.

Beyond the Apes

There will be no attempt here to review these propositions systematically – or the very long, very old controversy over nature and nurture of which they are only one manifestation. Suffice it here to say that just because a Viennese ornithologist, a Transvaal lawyer, a British botanist, and an American playwright asseverate that men are more animalistic than apes, and apes more human than men, does not necessarily mean that these asseverations are true. Many alternative propositions are available, and they are not without their own forms of evidence, and advocators. The very process of reviewing alternatives, for example, and choosing deliberately between

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them, is wholly inexplicable in terms of instinctivism, or any other form of reductionist psychology or anthropology.

Perhaps one may dismiss Sartre as a mere philosopher when he contends man is by nature free and there is no exit from his freedom. Perhaps one may dismiss Buber as mere Hasidic humanist when he writes:

> Man is not a centaur, he is man through and through. He can be understood only when one knows, on the one hand, that there is something in all that is human, including thought, which belongs to the general nature of living creatures, and is to be grasped from this nature, while knowing, on the other hand, that there is no human quality which belongs fully to the general nature of living creatures and is to be grasped exclusively from it. Even man's hunger is not an animal's hunger. . . .

Perhaps, too, one might choose to dismiss Maslow and the whole emergent field of "third force," existential, or humanistic psychology as too soft-hearted and optimistic for one's taste. But one would then still have to argue with Ashley Montagu, who first achieved eminence as a tough-minded natural scientist, colleague of Julian Huxley's, and observer of the "culture" of wild birds, who reached the mature conclusion that there is a quantum jump from other species to *Homo sapiens*. And one would have to argue with the even tougher-minded Nobel Prize-winning geneticist, Joshua Lederberg, who states that he has yet to find any evidence in his studies for the inheritance of human behavioral characteristics, and specifically repudiates the doctrine of the innate depravity of man. And one would have to argue with the five-and-a-half-year-old girl who recently told me, in the wisdom of her years, "People are better than cats, because people have a sense of humor and cats don't."

Why Take the Dim View?

For the sake of discussion, let us say that all the evidence is inconclusive, that the old "heredity vs. environment" controversy is still open, and that the final answer on the nature of human nature (or, for that matter, animal nature) is not yet vouchsafed us. Let us turn, instead, to a question which is scarcely less intriguing, but very much more modest in scope and approachable in method: Why do people choose to embrace one theory about their own natures, as against others which are at least as plausible, when they have a choice?

Why did the "killer ape" books sell hundreds of thousands of copies, while Fromm's *Revolution*

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of Hope, for example, sold only a few thousand? Why did fashion change so drastically from the 1950's, when the nonfiction best-sellers were *Kids Say the Darndest Things* by Art Linkletter, *Twixt Twelve and Twenty* by Pat Boone, and *Only in America* by Harry Golden, to works of profound helplessness and hopelessness, pointing toward human extinction, and indeed denying that man has ever existed as man at all?

We have available to us now, more than people have ever had available to them before, a wealth of hypotheses about who we are, and where we are going, and where we should be going, and why. Never before have men had such a plenitude of possibilities among which to choose. Why have so many of them chosen to think they are unthinking brutes? Why, particularly, have people who buy and read books – the best-educated, most privileged people who have ever lived in this world – used their very freedom to deny that they are free?

There used to be a subdiscipline called the Sociology of Knowledge, which addressed such questions as these, before sociology itself became a reductionistic science. Because the Sociology of Knowledge relied on insight, which is no longer an accepted method, and did not lend itself to the statistical survey, almost the only recognized method today, it apparently no longer has any academic standing. But if sociologists will not touch the important sociological questions, then someone else must, for they are vital questions.

Human Qualities Recently Acquired

Here is one interpretation of the fact that a great many literate persons, during this particular period of time, in this particular social-cultural-economic-political setting, have chosen to believe a radically dehumanizing body of conjecture about their own natures: man does not yet feel entirely comfortable with his distinctive condition, shorn of the instinctual gyroscopes which guide other species through most of their existence. Man does not yet feel altogether at ease with the requirement that he has to decide for himself what he is going to eat, what he shall wear, if anything, and every other event in his life, from the most trivial to the most momentous. Man does not yet feel secure with his great feelings of love, or with the fact he has a sense of honor, sense of history, and sense of humor that are better than a cat's. He has, after all, had only a short time to grow accustomed to such characteristics. Perhaps, when all the evidence is in, it will prove to have

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been only a few tens of thousands of years.

The necessity to review alternatives and make choices, moment by moment, day by day, year by year, often seems wearisome. The more alternatives there are, and the more information one has about each, the more onerous it is to make decisions. Sometimes it grows agonizing, and sometimes it seems next to impossible. How much easier to let someone else make the choices! How alluring, how beguiling, how tempting to search for some force, some agency exterior to ourselves, to blame when a decision turns out to be mistaken!

Probably the most notorious example within living memory, of man's temptation to avoid the burdens of choice and responsibility was the willingness of most of the German people to turn over their decision-making to Hitler. But no culture yet devised, including our own, has proved immune to this temptation—particularly in times of crisis, which is but another way of saying times when decision-making becomes most difficult.

Search for a Scapegoat

Thus, for example, the vogue of Freudianism in our society cannot be explained wholly in terms of the intrinsic merits of the doctrine itself. The doctrine is full of inadequacies: demonstrable realities which it cannot explain, and elaborate reification of theoretical constructs which have no existence in fact. But Freudianism happened to become widely available at a time when old verities were crumbling, young people were alienated and restless, older people were confused – a time, during and after the First World War, not unlike our own.

How comforting it was to be able to buy absolution from the new priesthood of psychoanalysis: absolution from the pain of freedom and its attendant responsibilities. How comforting to be able to blame everything on a universal scenario in which no actor was accountable for his acts: boys couldn't help having problems because they couldn't help wanting to go to bed with their mothers, and kill their fathers, and all the rest of it.

As America, and Western civilization generally, lost faith in their own reasonableness and goodness, Freudianism was by no means the only suitor for displaced *amor proprio*. Many other candidate theories entered the lists and had greater or lesser success in jousting for the favor of man's self-doubt and disillusionment. McDougall and his school of instinctivism anticipated the New

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Biologists by fifty years. Terman and the psychometrists reduced everything to I.Q. and other standardized tests. Kretschmer and the somatotypologists had their day. Hooton and the eugenicist racists had their day. And not only did Watson and the stimulus-response behaviorists have their day – their day is not done. More psychologists are probably still committed to that form of determinism than to any other.

But none of those doctrines has really solved or absolved anything or anyone. The world seems to be falling apart, worse than ever. Nothing we do seems to go right. If we discipline our children, as the behaviorists say we should, they run away from home and take to drugs and the gutter. If we indulge them, they do the same things under our very eyes. The more we give rebellious students, the more they seem to rebel. The more concern we turn to the situation of the poor, and racial and ethnic minorities, the more "ungrateful" and "demanding" these groups seem to grow. And hanging over everything, constantly, is the doomsday machine. We feel ourselves crushed by questions which have no answers, by problems which do not retreat before our best efforts to approach them with reason, decency, and generosity. Nothing seems logical or fair, as we have traditionally reckoned logic and fairness.

Seeking a Way Out

So a lot of us are giving up. We are yielding to the old temptation. We are looking for a way to flee to some womb, some cradle, some person, or organization, or theory, which will murmur to us, sweet and low, "There, there. Don't worry. It's none of your doing. It's not your fault. It's out of your hands."

Something of this sort must account for the spectacle of otherwise rational people turning to astrology. The vulgarized modern version of astrology offers the completely logic-tight alibi. If one has an unchecked temper, is a miser, is unfaithful to his wife, or whatever, he is blameless. He was born under the sign of Scorpio, when the moon was in the seventh house of Venus, and so forth. The understanding of Shakespeare is now stood on its head: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in ourselves, but in our stars, that we are underlings."

Others are finding solace in equally superficial versions of Eastern philosophies which are taken to mean there is no good or evil, all questing is futile, everything on earth must be accepted just as it is. There are many other closed systems from which

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one may choose. Cybernetics, to name an example which is relatively "respectable" intellectually. Scientology, to name one which is not. The old warhorse, Marxism, is still available to those who find it reassuring to be able to refer every human question (including evolution) to a class struggle.

The New Biology

And now comes the so-called New Biology, offering to grant surcease from the cares of being human. But for all the colorful new phraseology in which it may be couched, it is actually another tired warhorse, far older than Marxism, Freudianism, or Pavlovianism. Man's efforts to link himself with other animals have been very common throughout history – as they no doubt were in prehistory – being elevated to the status of religion in many cultures. This effort received its greatest intellectual impetus from *The Origin of Species* in 1859. Or, rather, from Neo-Darwinists who came later, and believed they could serve their mentor best by extending his ideas to all things, biological and social. Darwin himself was too much a scientist, and too much a human being, to claim that the processes he postulated in other species were necessarily binding upon the one species conscious of itself.

The terminology is different; the new biological determinists call themselves Ethologists. The evidence grows more sophisticated, as more fossils are unearthed in Tanzania and the Transvaal. But, at bottom, the appeal is the same as that advanced by other dehumanists at other times in other places: you had best jettison that sentimental nonsense about free will, and get in step with your biologically ordained destiny. You are only a very intricate machine, and by trying to be something more, you are just short-circuiting your computer program, and making yourself miserable.

Are Jews and Arabs locked in a death struggle, which may turn into World War III? Is that what's troubling you? Forget it. They are only doing what comes naturally – acting out the territorial imperative. Worried about the conflict between communism and capitalism? Forget it. Worried about a dehumanizing job, a dehumanizing marriage, a dehumanizing education? Forget it. None of these is a biological problem and therefore none of them is real. Since there is no such thing as humanization, there can be no such thing as dehumanization.

The Meaning of Responsibility

Because such a world-view makes everything so simple and undemanding, it is a very attrac-

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tive escape route for large numbers of people. But its vogue will be brief, and all but the truest true believers will soon be looking for other approaches to the problems of being human, for two good and sufficient reasons. First, because doctrines of biological determinism, applied intact to man, are false: all are helpless to account for the overwhelming evidence which anyone can see for himself by looking inward upon the rich, unpredictable, unending dialogue which takes place within himself, and within every healthy human being, during virtually every waking moment. There is no way man can turn off his brain and plug into an instinct-board or any other kind of equipment which will dictate his actions. Every moment is a decision; the sum total of those decisions is a life. If a man acts selfishly, cruelly, aggressively, it is not because any black gene, or any misanthropic molecules wandering through his central nervous system, compel him to; it is because he has chosen to do so. If he acts lovingly, it is because he has chosen to do that.

Secondly, all the fads and fashions which are momentarily enticing because they seem to sanction the denial of responsibility – all the literature of "the diminishment of man," as Archibald MacLeish called it in his Founder's Day address at the University of California last year – all this will falter and fail, not only because it is false, but because it is so unpleasurable and unsatisfying. There is another side to freedom and responsibility, thought and will and choice, besides the terror and pain of it. Sometimes one is bound to choose badly, no doubt, but in any lifetime one will sometimes surely choose well, too. And therein the unique human joy, and the unique human glory. No comfort which any dogma may confer can compare with the oceanic feeling of accomplishing something innovative and distinctive; of making a difference, even a small difference, through one's personal efforts; of holding fast to one's own craggy integrity; of disbelieving when everyone else believes if that is what one truly feels; of believing when everyone else disbelieves, if that is necessary to keep faith with one's self. In short, no form of determinism has ever offered or will ever offer any reward great enough to compensate for the loss of being a real person.

The "killer ape" and other reductionist theories will pass. More adequate, more humane, and therefore more satisfying alternatives will be selected from the great smorgasbord of ideas, hypotheses, theories, which make this such an

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unprecedentedly exciting time to live – a time in which the perils are exceeded only by the possibilities.

However he may try to distract or suppress it, man has an ineradicable hunger for authenticity, an itch to use the capacities which are his alone. Since he is capable of oceanic feelings, capable of creative thought, capable of becoming an autonomous individual, capable of changing, he can never be reconciled with his own deepest yearnings unless he feels those feelings, thinks those thoughts, becomes that unique being, and then goes on to surpass himself.

Nostrums which promise relief from the burdens of uncertainty and openness give only fleeting relief at best. Then the itch to be human begins again.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Ground for Optimism

TO TAKE half a million laborers a year for a period of years, coming to us from a state of poverty, bringing nothing but their two hands, and put them on the road to prosperity was no small achievement. Superficial observers pointed to the slums of our cities and were impressed by their permanency. They did not look closely enough to see that, though the slums continued, the personnel of the slums changed. The slums were like a reservoir, fed by one stream and drained by another. The reservoir seems to be permanent, though the water changes. The newly arrived immigrants formed the stream that fed the slums. Their promotion to positions that brought greater economic prosperity was the stream that drained the slums. This ought to have been, and was to those who understood it, ground for optimism.

THOMAS NIXON CARVER, *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States* (1925)

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ASIA

the impotent specter

HARRY LEE SMITH

NORTH and South Vietnam combined are economically smaller than Greater San Diego. The economies of Laos and Cambodia together are no match for that of Newark. Switzerland has a gross national product greater than that of all Southeast Asia, which is about the same as that of Los Angeles.

Potential military might bears little relationship to national area or population. Of the many factors which might be considered, economic size best determines a nation's ability to finance standing armies, to produce or purchase weapons, and to cross oceans. Without economic strength, especially of the industrial variety, a nation is little threat to an enemy or aid to an ally.

All of Communist Asia is economically smaller than California and much smaller than industrialized Japan. All of Asia, exclusive of Japan, is economically no match for our Eastern Seaboard. Had Southeast Asia and Korea fallen to communism along with China in 1949, we doubtless would have written off the entire area to the enemy and changed our defense perimeter accordingly.

Of course, economic size is not the only measure of military menace. Cuba is economically slightly larger than North Vietnam; yet Havana's proximity makes it a greater threat to our territorial integrity than is Hanoi. Because of its industrial base, Czechoslovakia may be a greater threat than is Indochina, though they are economic equals.

Our struggle with communism has one central deterrent: we must avoid World War III. While fighting in Vietnam, we are effectively constrained from attacking Moscow whose concentration

Mr. Smith is a businessman in California.

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of military power is greater than that of all other communist areas combined. The satellite nations of Eastern Europe are economically larger than China, and more important to communist power than is Asia, yet we can do nothing to help them militarily even when they struggle for freedom.

There is an outstanding exception to the correlation between economic size and military potential. It involves fighting on home ground rather than overseas. Tiny North Vietnam, even bolstered by foreign aid, is economically smaller than San Diego county; yet, the North Vietnamese have been able to hold American and South Vietnamese armies at bay for nine years. Of course, the American arsenal lacks the indispensable weapon of consensus. Nevertheless, an army of half a million men supported by $30 billion in yearly expenditures, can only be termed leviathan by historical standards. Many thoughtful Americans feel that this effort coupled with rising taxes, inflation, dissension, and 40,000 deaths, is effectively draining us economically and emotionally of reserves which might be needed in some future more significant contingency. Others hope that this sacrifice will provide an ideological victory over communism.

The illiterate Asian peasant, earning $100 per year, is bewildered by the conflicting ideological and economic theories of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, neither of which is particularly applicable to his pastoral economy. His welfare is based on being left alone. Although he doubtless detests the cruelty of his brutalized brothers

POPULATION AND GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT 1967

	Population (millions)	G N P (billions)
Southeast Asia:		
South Vietnam	17	$ 2.0
Laos	3	.3
Cambodia	7	.9
Malaysia	10	2.9
Thailand	33	4.3
Burma	26	1.8
Total	96	$12.2
North Vietnam	20	2.0
Cuba	8	2.6
Switzerland	6	13.9
Eastern Europe	120	101.4
China	720	64.8
Japan	100	100.0
All Asia (except Japan and Near East)	1,600	160.0
U.S.S.R.	236	229.0
U.S.A.	199	730.0
California	19	88.3
Los Angeles	3	13.0
Greater San Diego	1.2	5.6
Newark	.5	2.1

Source: Data for U. S. cities extrapolated from U. S. Statistical Abstract. 1969. All other information based upon World Bank Atlas, 1969, published by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

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from the north, he is also confused and demoralized by an interminable war of liberation fought by French and American armies in his rice paddies.

The form of communism generally embraced by primitive peoples differs from the industrial communism of Europe. The great ideological rift in the communist world is worth many military victories in Asia. Russia has departed from strict Marxist tenets to adopt state capitalism. The Chinese purists vehemently denounce this deviation. They, in turn, have adapted Marxism to a peasant economy as opposed to the proletariat. Indochina, by its very nature, would adopt peasant Marxism if converted, thus adding to the communist rift. Even under these circumstances, it is doubtful whether Southeast Asia would become closely allied with its traditional enemy, China.

Communism is merely aggressive socialism. In the U.S.A., the socializing process has been intensified during the past forty years and has now erupted into carbuncles of hard-core revolution. Many well-armed nations have fallen through treachery, and this process may be more menacing to our future than is the communizing of peasants thousands of miles away.

Nothing hastens the transition from capitalism to socialism more surely than does heavy taxation. It is immaterial whether these taxes are used for social welfare, for weapons, or for war. When we pay another nation's bills or fight another nation's war, the process helps to socialize the United States.

Asia, communist or otherwise, has overwhelming problems which effectively neutralize her impact on the twentieth century. When Russia builds an extra 100 missiles or ten more nuclear submarines, the balance of world power is more severely affected than by the ebb and flow of events in pastoral Asia.

The paradox of militarism in a free society has plagued the world for centuries. Over 2,500 years ago, the Athenians were menaced from Asia. Yet, despite repeated attacks by the mighty Persians, the Athenians refused to enslave themselves militarily as did the Spartans. Instead, they resorted to special arming when necessary, as was the policy of the United States until recent years. Both Athens and the United States relied on their wealth and industrial might for security and refused to jeopardize this base through the excessive taxation required for powerful standing armies. This calculated risk resulted in the greatest heritages of wealth, cul-

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ture, and technology the world had known in each case. The Athenian victories at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, against incredible odds, would seem to vindicate a faith in the invincibility of the free individual human spirit.

It is in individualism that America has always found strength and wisdom. Faith in God and self has been to our best interests.

Removing a huge army and its equipment from a remote area cannot be accomplished overnight. But an understanding of the economic and political realities of Asia ought to help get the job done.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Vital Secret

NOT ONLY foreign visitors, but many who have lived all their lives in the United States, observe the comparatively higher level of living here than in other countries and seek a reason why.

If we would share our material achievements and our industrial progress with those less fortunate than ourselves, either within the United States in so-called pockets of poverty, or in other countries, let us try to better understand the nature of self-respect, learn to practice it more faithfully and fruitfully, in due humility, so that others may choose to do the same. From true and humble self-respect stems respect for the property and the lives of others. Once a people understand the importance of life and property, and come to respect another's as they respect their own, then they are in a position to organize a government of limited powers, knowing full well the limitations of coercive methods. And then, but not before, they are ready to practice freedom and enjoy such blessings of freedom as tools, machinery, electrification, automation, and a high and rising level of living.

Perhaps, if this were the secret of American progress that we undertook to share with the rest of the world, we might come to understand it well enough to preserve our own freedom.

PAUL L. POIROT

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CLARENCE B. CARSON

Throttling the Railroads

5 Early Regulation 1887-1918

THERE have been three stages of government regulation of the railroads, though a fourth one appears to be taking shape in recent years. The first stage was that of state efforts at regulation and control, a stage which encompassed such regulation as there was until 1887. In the second stage, 1887-1920, the Federal government began its regulatory intervention and to occupy much of the field. The third stage is bounded by the years 1920-1958, and the Federal government has been the dominant intervener in this period. Since 1958, governments have begun a hesitant shift back toward the much earlier practice of offering subsidies to the railroads.

There have been two different levels of restrictive intervention which cut across the chronological stages. The most obvious level is that of direct governmental intervention by which governments acting by legislation or through commissions have regulated, controlled, restricted, obstructed, prescribed, taken over, aided, or inhibited the railroads in the conduct of their business. The other level is the one on which governments have interfered indirectly by the empowering of labor unions to carry on their activities of extracting agreements from the roads as to working conditions and wages, have aided and

Dr. Carson is a frequent contributor to THE FREEMAN and other journals and the author of several books, his latest being *The War on the Poor* (Arlington House, 1969). He is Chairman of the Social Science Department at Okaloosa-Walton College in Florida.

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subsidized competitive modes of transportation, and have in various ways established surrounding conditions within which railroads operate.

There is no need here to dwell on the first stage of regulation – that by the states before 1887. Suffice it to say that many of the devices and objects of regulation were introduced and tried by the states, such as the establishment of regulatory commissions, prescriptive legislation, rate control, and requirements as to service. The extent of such regulation varied, of course, from state to state and from time to time. Some of the Midwestern states made the most extensive and restrictive efforts. State regulation did not end, either, with the beginning of Federal activity in 1887; certain intrastate rail operations have continued to fall under the states; but, increasingly over the years, the Federal government has pre-empted more and more of the field.

Federal Intervention and the Crisis of World War I

In any case, the damage done to the railroads by the states was spotty, sporadic, and tended to be localized. Not so, that of the Federal government. The Federal government's intervention intensified from its beginning in 1887 until World War I; the effects reached to virtually all the railroads in the country, and the tendency was to tighten control ever more effectively.

The bitter fruits of this intervention came rather swiftly, and they were such as should have been expected from it. Indeed, attempts to fix rates were less than a decade old when intervention led to a full-fledged crisis. World War I precipitated a crisis for which the intervention had prepared the way. Even before the United States declared war, there was widespread awareness that the railroads were in no position to perform all the services that were expected of them. Exports, mainly to the Allies, in 1915 and 1916 greatly increased the amount of freight traffic. By the time the United States entered the war, government and railroad officials were discussing means and organizing for improvement of rail services. This did not work, and as the months passed in 1917, the situation worsened.

> Poor performances in coal production and distribution led the list of transportation difficulties, although alarm over adequate shipping for food exports and the grain harvest ran a close second. As autumn passed dangerous lows in coal supplies were reported throughout the nation. . . . Between August 12 and November 24 the drop in coal production due to car shortages totaled 20,166,412 tons.

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. . . By December the possibility of completely empty coal bins faced New England factories and homes. Nor was the coal famine the only major national problem; the annual grain harvest was moving to market slowly because of car shortages and blocked rail facilities. . . . Terminal congestion was frightful. Around New York City unloaded freight was actually piled in the space between tracks.[1]

The war exposed the condition of the railroads by placing unusual demands on them, but the war was not the source of the incapabilities of the railroads. The truth was that the United States did not have an integrated rail system: the railroads did not cooperate well with one another; traffic did not flow by the best routes; many railroads were in a state of disrepair; and the routing of boxcars was largely uncoordinated. Despite the fact that historians have long written of transcontinental railroads, there is not to the present day a single transcontinental railroad.

The source of the crisis was the government measures of the preceding three decades. On the one hand, the government attempted to force the railroads to compete; on the other, it refused to allow them to compete. The government proscribed certain kinds of cooperation, attacked efforts at coordination, refused to allow rates to rise in crucial circumstances, and produced conditions in which railroads were considered a relatively poor investment. The thrust of government into railroad regulation had produced an ineffective and disintegrated rail system. To see how this was done, let us turn now to an examination of the regulation.

The Interstate Commerce Act

The first Federal act of regulation was the Interstate Commerce Act, and it was also the basic act from which much of the rest has flowed. This complicated statute, passed in 1887, had many provisions with qualifiers attached to them and the whole was cast in the extensive verbiage and redundancies by which a law is made to close as many loopholes as may be desired. Stripped to their essence, these were its provisions. It was to apply to all interstate freight and passenger traffic by rail. All rates for such traffic should be just and reasonable. Any and all rebates were prohibited. The railroads should not give any unreasonable preference or advantage to any shipper over any other, and should make their services available to all comers on equal terms. A railroad should charge no more for a short

[1] K. Austin Kerr, *American Railroad Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), pp. 54-55.

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haul than a long haul on the same route under substantially similar circumstances, with the proviso that the Interstate Commerce Commission could relieve a railroad from its obligation to conform if circumstances warranted. The pooling (dividing up) of either freight or receipts among competing railroads was prohibited. Rates and fares were to be posted prominently, and not to be changed until public notice had been given. And lastly, it provided for the establishment of an Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the provisions of the Act.

There were many minor amendments to the Act during the early years, amendments which had the general aim of spelling out and increasing the powers of the Commission. For example: "In 1888 the act was amended to cover classification. . . . In 1889 it was amended to provide for the proper publication of freight and passenger tariffs. . . . In 1889 and 1891 the Interstate Commerce Act has been amended to strengthen the powers of the Commission to compel attendance of witnesses and the production of documents at the hearing of complaints. This provision was further amended in 1895 to protect witnesses from the penal consequences of their own incriminating testimony and to punish recalcitrant witnesses by maximum penalties of $5,000 fine and one year's imprisonment."[2]

Other Restrictive Legislation

The other major acts affecting the railroads before World War I, however, were the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, the Elkins Act of 1903, the Hepburn Act of 1906, the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, the Panama Canal Act of 1912, and the Physical Valuation Act of 1913.

Railroad men generally assumed at the first that the railroads were exempt from the Sherman Act since they already fell under restrictive legislation, but the Supreme Court was soon to rule otherwise. The ostensible purpose of this antitrust legislation was to compel competition. Yet a close examination of it shows that meaningful competition is actually outlawed if the statute were to be literally applied. Section 2 says, in part, that "every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. . . ." Certainly a major reason for anyone competing in commercial activities is to gain a

[2] Henry S. Haines, *Restrictive Railway Legislation* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), pp. 223, 261.

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larger share of the market. By doing so, he would, in effect, be attempting to monopolize all the trade or commerce in his particular business, though he might not be conscious of so extensive an ambition. Though the statute may not have been applied in just that way, it has been applied to deter growth and expansion and reduce effective competition.

The Elkins Act made it a misdemeanor for railroads to deviate from the published rates, defined unfair discrimination more fully, and provided punishments for officials who might be involved in giving or receiving rebates.

The Hepburn Act was much more extensive; it was comparable to the Interstate Commerce Act as major legislation, and gave the Commission far more power than it formerly had. This Act empowered the Commission to fix maximum rail rates according to the prescription that they should be just and reasonable. The Commission could prescribe uniform systems of accounting for the affected carriers. Moreover, railroads were prohibited from transporting any goods produced by themselves or of companies in which they held an interest except such as would be useful to them in maintaining their roads and related operations.

The Mann-Elkins Act once again extended the jurisdiction and powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The provisions for charging no more for a short than a longer haul were greatly tightened. The new act "absolutely forbade lower charges to longer-distance points except after hearing and approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission."[3] The Commission could suspend new rates proposed by the railroads until the court had rendered a decision. The act provided that if a railroad lowered its rates to compete with water traffic, it could not raise them later – after having driven water carriers out of business – until a hearing had been held that would show that some other condition had changed besides the removal of water competitors. A Federal Court of Commerce was set up to hear appeals from the decisions of the Commission, but it was abolished two years later.

The Panama Canal Act "provided that after July 1, 1914, it should be unlawful for any railroad to own, lease, operate, or control or have any interest whatsover through stockholding or community of management, in any water carrier operating through the Panama Canal. Neither was any such relationship to continue elsewhere than through the Canal in

[3] Frank H. Dixon, *Railroads and Government* (New York: Scribner's, 1922), p. 30.

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cases where the railroad did or might compete with the water line for traffic."[4] This was an attempt to make the railroads compete with steamships.

The Physical Valuation Act was supposed to aid the Commission in setting rates or determining if rates were just and reasonable. The underlying idea was that a rate should ideally be such that an efficient carrier would receive a "fair return" on his investment and that this could somehow be calculated if the value of the property could be ascertained. To that end, the Commission was to make exhaustive computations as to the costs to the railroads of all their properties. The Commission was to "report for each piece of property the original cost to date, the cost of reproduction new, the cost of reproduction less depreciation, and 'other values and elements of value, if any.'" The railroads were "required to aid the Commission by furnishing maps, profiles, contracts, and any other pertinent documents and to cooperate in any way desired in the undertaking."[5] This act is interesting not for any results produced, though the Commission labored many years to try to arrive at the required conclusions, but for what it indicated about the extent to which legislators were willing to go to regulate the railroads.

It should be clear from the above summary of the legislation prior to World War I that the Federal government was gaining more and more control over the railroads and that, conversely, the railroads were more and more circumscribed in what they could do. In addition, labor unions were being given more and more power, but that story will be told in another connection. Something does need to be said about the tendency of court rulings.

The Commission Gains Power

The chances are good that had the Supreme Court been confronted in the 1890's with an Interstate Commerce Commission clearly clothed with the quasi-legislative-judicial-executive powers which it was later to exercise, it would have declared such a body unconstitutional. At any rate, it is clear from the decisions of the 1890's that the Court considered the Commission to be only an advisory body. Certainly, it did not recognize the Commission as a court; no more could it legislate or execute. But then, neither was such a body in violation of the Constitution. However, the Commission struggled vigorously over the years to have its powers increased, and they were. In the

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

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early years, the Court circumscribed the powers of the Commission by ruling on the basis of legislative intent. The Court thus allowed the issue of the constitutionality of such a body to disappear; meanwhile, the legislature made it ever clearer that they intended the Commission to have more and more power. Thus it was that the Federal courts were by World War I largely adjuncts of the Commission in enforcing their rulings.

Undoubtedly, many of those who sought to regulate the railroads in many ways had the best of intentions. They sought to establish just and reasonable rates, extend the benefits of competition to those not receiving it, provide similar services for all shippers, allow the railroads a "fair return" on their investment, and see to it that the general public were beneficiaries of railway services. Good intentions, however, have no discernible effect on results; these are a product of the actions taken. The acts of the regulators were often contradictory, self-defeating, ignored the nature of rail competition, and harmful both to the railroads and the general public. The results were such as should have been expected from such acts.

Even the intent of the regulators as to competition is not clear. On the one hand, they apparently wanted to preserve it; on the other, they wanted to prevent it. One writer describes the aim of part of the legislation in this way: "It attempted to continue competition at points not naturally competitive by the prohibition of traffic agreement, and at the same time to protect other points against such competition by making it unlawful for the railroad companies to discriminate in favor of artificially competitive points."[6] By outlawing rebates, the government attempted to stop that sort of rate competition.

Competition Restrained

Certainly, one of the ways in which businesses compete with one another is in price. If prices cannot vary from the list price, that sort of competition is greatly reduced. Another way railroads might compete with one another was in services. But if services had to be extended to all comers on an equal basis, as the law required, a railroad would be greatly hampered in offering better services to a particular shipper than another line would offer him. When a railroad could not work out a more favorable agreement with a connecting line than others could, it was that much more difficult to offer a better price.

[6] Haines, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

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The long and short haul clause sometimes made it prohibitive for a weak road to haul commodities long distances at rates competitive with alternative routes. To do so it would have to lower its rates for shorter hauls to a point that would make them unremunerative. A port city, for example, served by financially weak railroads could not expect to compete with ports served by stronger roads. This situation was aggravated by the Panama Canal Act which tended to discourage favorable rail and steamship rates for a particular port. In short, all sorts of competition were hampered by regulation.

As rail regulation became ever more restrictive, it tended to freeze the rail system in its existing pattern. There is every reason to suppose that in the absence of hampering and prohibitive legislation these United States would have had by or before World War I a few great railroad systems spanning the continent in its length and breadth and providing not one but several unified systems of transport. These, in turn, would have been linked with steamship lines to the rest of the world. These several systems would have been in position to compete effectively with one another as, for example, great oil companies do today. Certainly the tendency was toward the linking together and forming of such systems prior to the restrictive legislation.

Financiers in Control

The question is, what froze them into the early pattern? One might suppose that it was antitrust action which prevented or prohibited such unification. Yet antitrust suits did not prevent such expansion and unification before World War I, to my knowledge. Instead, it was the railroad financiers who turned their attention from expanding into new territory and linking together truly transcontinental systems to combining railroads serving the same general area, an effort which has continued to the present day. The most famous early example of this was the formation of the Northern Securities Company. This was a holding company for the controlling stock of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern, two roads serving the same general area. The Supreme Court ordered the holding company dissolved in 1904.

Financiers could and did, however, manage to gain control of railroads serving the same general area by stock purchases. For example, "The traffic of the East and eastern Middle West was dominated by the New York Central and Pennsylvania, allied with the

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Morgan interests, which controlled the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Norfolk and Western. Under Morgan's direction, moreover, the New Haven bought control of the Boston and Maine, the trolley lines of New England, and even the Long Island steamship companies."[7] The tendency of such controlling combinations – there were several over the country – was to divide the country into noncompetitive railroad empires, reduce competition within an area, and to delay or prevent integration. If the threat of antitrust action did not prevent such combinations, it is reasonable to suppose it would not have prevented combinations aimed at building integrated transcontinental systems.

Long and Short Haul Rules

We must look elsewhere than the antitrust legislation for an explanation of why financiers did not see any great prospect for profit in building great nationwide systems. It is not necessary to look far, because the long and short haul rules provide a sufficient reason, especially when combined with the rules inhibiting competition. An ideal railroad under the long and short haul clause would be one whose main line connected two or more major shipping centers at considerable distance from one another with only a few intermediate points spaced far apart. In fact, it might be ideal if there were no intermediate stations, for rates could then be set to take full advantage of the economies of operation involved in pulling long trains for very long distances. But a railroad connecting, say, Omaha or Kansas City with Los Angeles or San Francisco might approach the ideal under the long and short haul restriction.

Indeed, there were, and are, several roads well situated to profit from this peculiar regulation. They are such Western roads as the Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Northern Pacific. But there is a counter incentive to linking these roads with those in the East which traverse thickly populated areas with numerous intermediate points. This would only serve to tie what had been profitable long haul rates to short haul rates in such a way as either to incur great losses in the short haul business or to price themselves out of much of the long haul traffic. In practice, any Eastern and Western system so linked would be at the mercy of those Western roads free of such ties.

Since the railroads could not ef-

[7] Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 53.

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fectively compete in so many ways, such opportunity for improving their situation as existed would usually be to combine roads covering the same general area so as to maintain some control over rates and get as much of the profitable business as possible within an area. This is what railroad financiers tended to do. The result, as far as the public was concerned, was a nonintegrated rail system, reduced competition, poorer service, and higher rates.

Other Inhibiting Factors

There were other infelicities produced by regulation. Even where they desired to do so, railroad men were hampered in coordinating services and charges with one another. Not only was pooling prohibited but any other sorts of agreements might make them subject to antitrust suits. It is difficult to imagine an agreement which the officials of two or more railroads might enter into that might not be construed as an attempt to monopolize the transport business of an area. Certainly, if they made any agreement it would likely be with the prospect of increasing business, and any such increase would "tend" toward monopoly.

If rate regulation worked as simply as it has sometimes been conceived, it would have the effect of coddling the inefficient. That is, if by raising rates the income of the railroad could be proportionately increased, and if the Commission wanted to keep every line in operation, the maximum rates would be those which would yield a profit to the most inefficient line. Such rate setting would have the interesting result of pushing all rates upward insofar as uniform rates prevailed. The Commission has not, of course, behaved in so simplistic a fashion. Even if it did, the demand for rail service is not inelastic. In consequence, rates can be increased without necessarily increasing revenues. The Commission tried to steer a course between raising rates so high that they would reduce traffic appreciably and keeping them so low that many railroads would be ruined. The results were a mixed bag also in the years before World War I: rates did generally rise; some rates were kept too low; many roads were caught in the squeeze of declining revenues.

Statistics indicate that railroad earnings declined after the Interstate Commerce Commission became involved in setting rates. The "aggregate amount paid in dividends fell off $100,000,000 from the high year of this period (1911), and the average rate on dividend-paying stock which was 8.07 per cent in 1908 was 6.75 per cent in

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1916. Whatever may be one's personal view as to whether this was or was not a satisfactory financial showing for our railroad system, the fact remained that it did not satisfy the investor. Consequently, the sound policy long practiced by railroad management of keeping ahead of traffic by providing the necessary facilities for handling it was gradually weakened, and at the time the country entered the war the railroad system was far short of that standard of efficiency which the demands of traffic required."[8] One of the signs that the railroads were not spending nearly enough on new equipment was the increase of accidents. Accidents due to derailments increased from 6,697 in 1911 to 22,477 in 1920.[9] In short, government policies reduced earnings, discouraged investment, and set the stage for the railroads to live off past capital investment to the detriment of efficient maintenance.

When World War I came, the railroads were ill prepared to provide the services wanted. This was, in large measure, due to government policies which had frozen the railroads in an earlier pattern, made it difficult for owners and managers to run them effectively, discouraged investment, supported inefficiency, deterred cooperation and coordination, and inhibited the development of nationwide systems. The Federal government took over the operation of the railroads on December 26, 1917, and continued to run them until 1920. Having prevented an integrated system from developing and thus having set the stage for a crisis, the government took over and did much that it had prevented the railroads from doing.

[8] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Next: Railroads in the Grip of Government.

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NO TIME FOR PESSIMISM

ROBERT BEARCE

EACH AGE has its cynical cult – its pessimistic prophets of doom. Ours is scarcely the exception. The prevailing mood today, leastwise in supposedly "intellectual" circles, was recently summed up by one of our prominent news commentators. Asked why he reported only the ugly side of the national and international scenes, he replied with moody overcast that if there were any encouraging news to broadcast, he'd surely give it a fair propagation – leaving us to conclude that no tangible bright spots of cheer exist to be reported.

Again, pessimism is an ancient attitude – one that coupled with skepticism and cynicism has done its share to thwart individual freedom and human progress. Those of us who have undertaken the task of knowing more of freedom, preserving and enlarging upon it, are particularly susceptible to the slough of pessimism.

When we think of freedom, one of the basic concepts that comes to mind is the worth and dignity of the individual and his eternal struggle against encroachments from the state. And how today's trend toward state intervention and the gradual subjugation of the individual are causes for discouragement! Inflation, politicians obsessed with government spending as the "cure-all" to the Promised Land, judicial decisions – these represent some of the potential bugs of despair in all red-blooded freemen.

A recent powwow of mayors went on record as expressing a desire for greater Federal responsibility in their cities. That is just cause for pessimism! Mayors, of all individuals, ought to stand firm for individual responsibility against state authority. Independ-

Mr. Bearce is a free-lance writer in Humble, Texas.

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ence, individual initiative, limited government, and *local responsibility* were all the cornerstones upon which the Founding Fathers built a free society of free men working freely. Yet, here are our mayors expressing, somewhat indignantly, their feelings that the Federal authorities haven't devoted enough time and money to the needs of the cities.

To further examine this issue, let us say that various school districts, private and state health agencies, and local welfare programs are subsidized and financed with Federal funds. This aid invariably leads to dependence, i.e., a deterioration of personal and local responsibility. Now, let us assume that a bill is passed by Congress appropriating funds to continue assistance to these education and welfare programs. It passes overwhelmingly, but trouble lies ahead because the President threatens to veto — a veto he will use declaring that the Federal government simply does not have the funds. To spend money that will not be raised by taxes would be inflationary.

Here is the curse of Federal aid. Lobbyists for the beneficiaries of the health, education, and welfare monies flock to Washington demanding passage of the bill by the President. "Why, Mr. President, we *need* that money! People will starve! Men will die of disease! Children will not learn their 3 R's!" Thus, in many instances, elected officials are coerced into passing legislation that is detrimental to the free economy solely due to the authoritarian tactics of individuals who have lacked individual responsibility for so long that they become lost without Federal assistance.

So much for inflation and selfish groups; they are cause for concern, but *not* pessimism. We can easily share the news commentator's blues. We can isolate all the instances where individual freedom is succumbing to the Big Brother philosophy, and then we can generalize on the gloomy findings. The result will be quite a dreary outlook on the current state of freedom. But dreary freemen and libertarians are not likable people. What is worse, the dreary freeman is but a step away from cynicism, skepticism, and pessimism — the three curses hampering the cause of freedom.

What we need is not an obsessive eye for the evil in society but a penetrating eye for the instances where *free* men working *freely* in a *free* society have succeeded. These examples should be our hope. They ought to cause a renewal of faith in freedom and a renewal of will to make freedom a profound blessing in men's lives.

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Allow me to illustrate. At about the same time of the news commentator's gloom, I watched a debate on the local educational TV. The topic: "Should the United States continue to reduce its nonmilitary foreign aid program and expenditures?" One of the witnesses who argued the affirmative was a prominent gentleman from Guatemala – Señor Manuel Ayau.[1] He was being cross-examined:

"Do you honestly believe, Mr. Ayau, that Guatemala doesn't need American aid?"

"Yes, I do. It doesn't need American aid or anyone else's."

"You really insist that Guatemala doesn't desperately need American technology and equipment?"

"That is correct."

"Hasn't American aid helped Guatemala?"

"It has not. American aid has hurt us." Then he added, "Guatemala, sir, if left alone can develop on her own without American aid. We do not need your benevolence. A country can make its progress on its own, if it has the will. I know of no better example than that of your own country – the United States of America."

Bravo! Sr. Ayau realized the eternal truth that when men are free to work out their own problems, depending upon their own self-discipline, individual initiative, and personal responsibility, they can achieve abundance. Freedom, unleashing human energy through perseverance, will, and sweat – not subsidies, humanitarianism, and energy-sapping authoritarianism – is the glory of man.

So, three cheers for Ayau and his perceptive defense of the free market and individual initiative.

Accent on the Positive

Many of us waste our time cursing the setbacks to freedom and not enough time cleaning our own houses. Our energies are spent unrewardingly as we decry the lack of appreciation for freedom on the part of our fellow man. We might very well see greater advances in the cause of freedom and truth if we would channel some of our righteous condemnation into praising the bright spots in the struggle for freedom. Then too, we can take the advice of Thomas Jefferson: "The ground of liberty is to be gained by inches; we must be contented to secure what we can get, from time to time, and eternally press forward for what is yet to get."

Elbert Hubbard once remarked, "If I can give a man a thought, I've helped him. But if I can make

[1] See "The Problem," by Dean Russell – May 1970 FREEMAN – who along with Ayau presented the argument against aid.

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him think, then I've indeed done him a service." This idea of making men think for themselves is the task of the freeman. It might be all bliss if men could live just as they pleased, doing and saying precisely what fitted their ego or mentality. Such is not the case, though. Our own security, freedom, and peace are dependent to a certain extent upon the attitudes of the society in which we live – a society which either rejects or accepts authoritarian philosophies.

We can give our fellow man "thoughts" about the blessings derived of free men working freely in a free society, but what is better, we can enable him to "think" for himself. This is the "thinking" which generates a more profound appreciation for freedom. Such positive action on our part is quite indirectly achieved. Rather than attempting to drill the truths of freedom into the "unlightened," we put our faith into vibrant example – the example that will encourage others to search out the truth for themselves.

The self-righteous attitude that seeks the role of saviour of mankind with omnipotent knowledge is not the way of those who adhere to the freedom faith. As in ages past, mankind has its self-appointed crusaders who are enraptured with visions of a perfect, blissful end. But he who would be the instrument for espousing the blessings of freedom must be humble; he must be willing to work individually and faithfully on a day-by-day basis, neither expecting nor seeking utopia for his fellow man.

It is quite all right to point out the defeats that freedom is experiencing, but this is somewhat a negative approach. We certainly should not be like the oft-mentioned ostrich; we must face reality and acknowledge our place in it as fallible beings. But the setbacks to freedom should not blind us. Rather, our energies must be dedicated to accenting the blessings derived of freemen thinking, working, and ordering their lives as they please.

Pessimism, cynicism, skepticism – these curses have no place in the program and attitudes of the freeman who seeks greater insight into the freedom faith. To love freedom is an optimistic faith – the faith that recognizes the harsh realities of life but also recognizes the terrific force of freedom in men's lives. Again, if we would serve the cause of freedom, we must understand Hubbard's observation: "If I can give a man a thought, I've helped him. But if I can make him think, then I've indeed done him a service."

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AGAINST THE TIDE

ON A RECENT journalistic junket to West Germany the group with which I was traveling had a mass interview with Ludwig Erhard, the former Chancellor who, as Dr. Adenauer's Minister of Economics in the first post-World War II government of his country, was responsible for the "German economic miracle." The talk turned to the young who, in West Germany as elsewhere, have been confusing freedom with anarchy. I had one particular question I wanted to ask Dr. Erhard: "Do the young, in the German universities, study any of your old masters in economics such as Wilhelm Röpke?"

The answer, which came with a sort of weary benignity, was that the young economics students didn't seem to be interested in the principles of the "free social market." They were interested in reducing economics to mathematics. Personalities such as Mises, Menger, and Röpke were not in the fashion. If it had been that way when he was a student, said Dr. Erhard, he would never have become an economist. He would not have been able to pass examinations.

This business of reducing economics to mathematics is part of the disease of the Western world. The modern economist tends to think in terms of "input" and "output" and "aggregates." The question of who directs and disposes the "input," and how title to the "output" is acquired or allocated, is dismissed as irrelevant to the problem of seeing that "aggregate" purchasing power, or "aggregate" investment, is kept at a "full-employment" level. The whole business of human incentives, the question of the human will, tends to disappear from the subject of economics; the individual is lost in the sea of statistics.

Paradoxically, this can have a tremendous effect on the integers that go to make up the statistical totals, for the mathematical economist, by making the human terms of "input" irrelevant, may be

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striking most deleterious blows at individual creativity. It can matter much to the inventor in his shop, or the chemist in his laboratory, that he be allowed to seek support from individuals rather than faceless bureaucrats. The beguiling break-through that ultimately develops into a new "ladder industry," capable of lifting a nation out of depression, is never a "statistic" at its birth; the quantifying economist only catches up with it after a lot of qualitative things have happened.

A Prominent Role

This is what Dr. Erhard was trying to tell the visiting U.S. journalists through the fog of translation. It so happened that I had been reading Wilhelm Röpke's *Against the Tide* (Regnery, $7.50, translated by Elizabeth Henderson) before coming to Germany. My question to Dr. Erhard had been prompted by a passage in Gottfried Dietze's foreword to the Röpke essays. "Röpke," says Dietze, ". . . warned against the advocacy of a planned economy and expressed the fear that planning and collectivism would prevent the economic recovery that he felt was inevitable under a free economy. The correctness of his opinion was first demonstrated in Germany. His friend Ludwig Erhard . . . has told how during the war he illegally got hold of Röpke's books, the contents of which he 'devoured like the desert the life-giving water.' Erhard repeatedly emphasized his debt to Röpke when, against the opposition of the military government, he introduced the market economy in West Germany . . . the enormous success of the 'socially responsible market economy' . . . deprived Western socialist programs of their appeal. . . . After the success of that economic system had been demonstrated in Germany, Röpke's friend and colleague Luigi Einaudi, the first President of postwar Italy, imitated the German economic policy in his country. . . . Other nations . . . followed suit. A continent that after World War II lay dying recovered in freedom."

Röpke, then, played a part in twentieth century history that was of the first magnitude, comparable to the role of a Lenin after World War I, though with a different end in view. An individual who talked in terms of qualitative decisions, he had an effect on "input" and the "aggregates" of investment and consumption in West Germany, Italy, and elsewhere that surprised and flabbergasted the Keynesians and the neo-Marxists. He gave socialism its first big setback and thereby may have changed the course of history.

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"Intellectuals and Capitalism"

Against the Tide represents many facets of Röpke's intellectual armory. Some of the essays are dated; the long discussion of "the transfer problem in international capital movements," which opens the book, becomes burdensomely technical, and despite the fact that it was written in pre-Hitlerian 1930, it could hardly have been an example of the Röpke that stimulated Dr. Erhard to face down the American Keynesians who tried to keep the free market from re-emerging in post-Hitler 1948 in the shattered Rhineland.

But the second essay, "The Intellectuals and Capitalism," dated 1931, is Röpke at his best. Röpke was combatting the German version of Rexford Tugwell's idea that capitalism must die when the economy becomes "mature." In pre-Nazi Germany economics had become crossed with geopolitics to produce a theory that national salvation resided in a certain "space" in the Danube countries and the Ukraine. If this space could not be seized, Germany would die for lack of markets and sources of raw material. The members of the *Tat* circle spoke of expanding in space to create a "want-satisfaction economy," an "organic economic community," which would help "the mass of the unpropertied people growing into the State." Röpke punctured this whole tissue of catch-phrases by observing that small countries such as Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland managed to do very well without "space," or "space-building."

In another essay, "The Secular Significance of the World Crisis," written in 1933 when an "end-of-the-world" mood prevailed in both Europe and America, Röpke doubted that there were structural, as contrasted with cyclical, reasons for the depression. The hypothesis that capitalism had failed because of a shortage of gold "was faulted from the outset by its failure to explain why, nevertheless, the volume of money and credit was able to expand so much immediately before the outbreak of the crisis." (As William Graham Sumner had said long before Röpke, the amount of money in a country is sufficient to do the work of the country.)

As for the theory that declining populations meant a declining capitalism, Röpke remarked that this was to "confuse people with Reichsmarks and dollars." Obviously, purchasing power depends on the money in people's pockets, and a small, rich population makes a better soil for capitalism than a huge, poverty-stricken mass such as one finds in India or China. Röpke admitted that some needs

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are inelastic. The number of Christmas trees that can be sold is determined by the number of families who celebrate Christmas. "On the other hand," so Röpke said, "the value and amount of presents lying under the Christmas tree vary from one family to another in accordance with the bread-winner's income. . . . Even if the production increased a hundred times, it would still fail to raise the incomes of the masses to a level that is regarded as necessary to the high-income brackets today."

Faulty Understanding of the Economics of Freedom

If lack of geographical space, or lack of precious metals, or a fall-off in population, couldn't explain the depression, what did? Röpke decided that the world's troubles in 1933 were due to a faulty understanding of the economics of freedom. He held to this opinion during his long period of exile from Germany in Turkey and Switzerland. And, when the opportunity presented, he managed to convince Dr. Erhard that he was right and the Tugwellians and the Keynesians were wrong. Not even World War II had resulted in the "end of an era."

The later essays in *Against the Tide* attack the problem of inflation, which seems inseparable from the growth of the welfare state. Röpke is not against a basic humanitarianism; he doesn't want to see helpless people starving. But he sees little sense in "robbing Peter to pay Paul" when Paul is just as capable of supporting himself as Peter. "We are in the predicament of the sorcerer's apprentice," he wrote a few years before he died; "almost anywhere we turn our horrified eyes, we see that the welfare state has a built-in, irresistible tendency to further growth." The welfare state, he said, operates without a brake or a reverse gear.

Unfortunately, welfarist ideas are still careening down the highway with as much dangerous momentum as was the case when Röpke was still alive. The more reason, then, to repeat the experience of Dr. Ludwig Erhard when he devoured Röpke "like the desert the life-giving water."

▶ THE UNHEAVENLY CITY by Edward C. Banfield (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970) 308 pp. $6.95.

Reviewed by Robert M. Thornton

THIS BOOK, by Harvard's professor of urban government, is a celebration of city living which, the author contends, is better today than ever before. Is there urban conges-

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tion? Well, up to a point, that's what makes a city, Banfield observes: a heavy concentration of business, industry, and workers' homes. Is there poverty and crime in the city? Of course, but the inherent tendency in cities is the steady transformation of poverty into prosperity – automation and technological change being, in the long run, part of this movement. And crime, despite popular opinion to the contrary, is not an inevitable consequence of low income and a slum environment. Cities have never been "heavenly," of course; but until political reformers, master planners, and utopians began tinkering with city life by unwise legislation and infusions of tax money, cities provided a good life for countless millions of people. And cities might continue in their civilizing role if we don't kill or cripple them by our mistaken policies.

Parts of this book remind one of Clarence Carson's *The War on the Poor*. Banfield, like Carson, argues that government interventions in the economy designed to increase prosperity or to in some way help the poor, are not only wrong in principle but also fail to accomplish their advertised purpose. Government intervention in the cities has aggravated existing problems and created new ones.

For example: Public transit and taxi franchises restrict competition, and the public is poorly served; occupational licenses hamper and discourage the small businessman; the Federal expressway system and the loan policies of the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration encourage and assist people to move out of the cities sooner and in greater numbers than would otherwise be the case; the dole, on the other hand, encourages the lazy and shiftless to move *to* the cities; farm subsidies tend to force small operators off the land and into the cities. These and other legislative interferences are mainly responsible for the plight of our cities.

Banfield speaks out strongly against minimum wage laws which create unemployment for those whose labor is not considered worth the price set by the government. He strikes out forcefully against child labor laws and laws making young people stay in school when they lack interest or ability. He criticizes labor union monopolies whose practices have similar results: preventing young people, who have had all the schooling they want or can take, from going to work. A sixteen-year-old earning his living is less likely to be breaking laws or creating disturbances than one forced to sit in a classroom all day, bored silly.

Like Martin Anderson and Jane Jacobs, Banfield comes out em-

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phatically against the Federal "urban renewal" program which destroys more housing than it constructs, hurting mostly the poor. He questions the use of the word "ghetto" to describe an area simply because of a heavy concentration of a particular race or social class; a ghetto, says Banfield, means an area in which people are legally confined. He cites instances where Negroes have had a chance to get out of the city into a pleasant suburban community but refuse because they prefer to be with their own people; he has wise words on the so-called color problem.

Banfield sees society as consisting of two broad classes: the present-oriented and the future-oriented. The former live for the moment and have no long-range goals. Schooling, saving, and such do not interest them. The latter, on the other hand, look ahead and postpone present pleasures for future satisfaction. In a tough-minded analysis, the problem of poverty is not so much something external to the individual person as an internal condition. Some persons, Banfield reminds us, simply do not care much about being responsible, independent citizens; they do not attach much importance to privacy or education or a steady job or an attractive home, and no amount of government interference is going to change them; in fact, handouts will only encourage them in their ways.

There are, of course, many proffered "solutions" for some of these city problems, but they all smack of dictatorship – the totalitarian state. Better to settle for the "unheavenly city," concludes Banfield. What is to be done? Just what writers in THE FREEMAN have preached for years: more freedom, which, Banfield says, "may well be the best course of action in the long run."

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"The free market ignores the poor."

This is but one of 76 socialistic clichés—bromides, plausibilities, catchy phrases—that FEE has identified and refuted.

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